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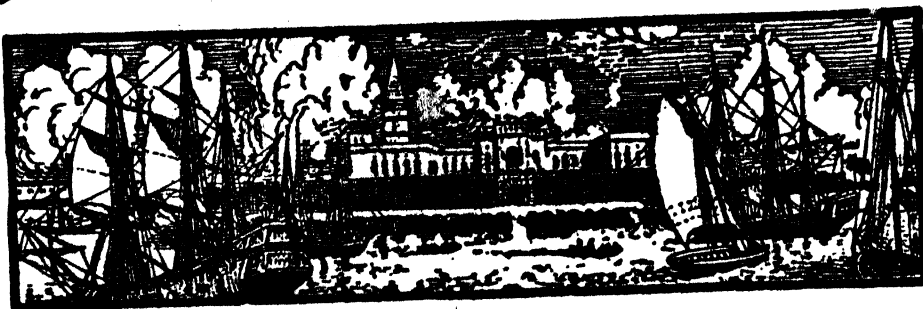
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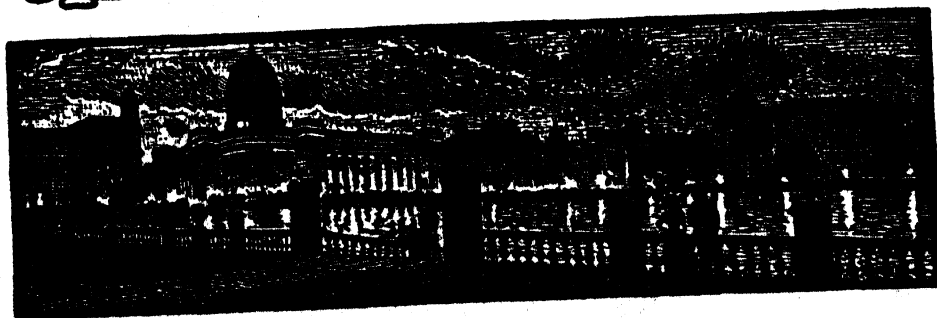
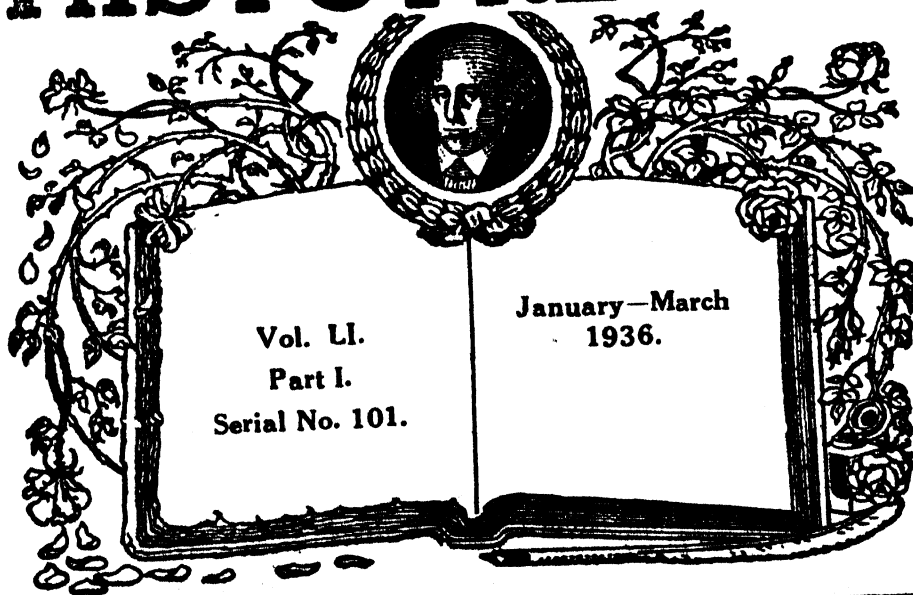
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Some Frenchmen in India.

READERS of the Life of René Madec by M. Emile Barbé (Paris, 1894) will remember that great French adventurer's lieutenant, Louis-Laurent Dolisy, Comte de Modave, from whose *Journal* and letters M. Barbé has derived much valuable information on his hero, while Madec's own *Mémoires* become meagre and unsatisfactory from the year 1774 onwards (p. 118). This Modave made a long inland journey from Chandernagore, departing on 6th September 1774, and arriving at Delhi on 17th April 1775, by way of Patna, Faizabad, Lucknow and Agra. He served in Madec's French contingent, then in the pay of the Emperor Shah Alam II., and co-operated with the Imperial Paymaster-General, Mirza Najaf Khan Zulfikar-ud-daulah in the Jat campaign and also took part in controlling the jāgir of Bāri (south of Agra) conferred on Madec by the Emperor. Leaving Madec's side in July 1776, Modave went to Hyderabad in search of service there and ultimately died at Masulipatam on 24th December 1777.

I have secured from Paris a transcript of his unpublished *Journal du Voyage du Bengale à Delhi*. It is a large volume of 336 folio pages, with 28 lines to the page. Modave was a man of high education and culture and his *Journal* is full of important information on the topography and the economic and military condition of the Mughal empire, the state of the administration, the characters of the different races and leading personages, religion, manners, and the policy of the English and the French. As a descriptive account of the Mughal empire in 1774—76, it far surpasses in value and detail M. Jean Law's account of the same subject, edited by M. Alfred Martineau, under the title of *Mémoire sur l'Empire Mogol* (1913).

René Madec's adventures as an officer of the Delhi Government as narrated by Modave form a chapter by themselves, and will not be given in the present paper. Today I shall translate only Modave's remarks on certain European military adventurers in India in his time. [J. Sarkar.]

NEPAL.—[P. 23] The English, attracted by the report of the riches of the country of Nepal, attempted two years ago to compel the Raja to pay tribute. They sent troops with orders to penetrate into the interior. The Raja utilised the gorges defiles and thickness of the mountains that surround his country with so much ability and success that the English sepoys conducted by the officers of that nation were all slain or captured to the last man. The officers have not returned, but the sepoys who escaped the massacre have been sent back without their arms.

The Raja of Nepal entertains a body of troops on the model of those which the English have raised in Bengal. They are divided into battalions bearing the names of the different provinces of his little kingdom. At Calcutta

I was assured that the prince [of Nepal] after paying all his expenses had more than a *kror* of Rupees in balance for putting into his offers. If it be so, he can boast of being one of the richest sovereigns of Asia.

[N. B.—This is an incorrect account of Kinloch's expedition to Nepal in 1767-'68, of which the best history has been given from English records and Nepali ms. sources in Surya Vikram Jhawali's scholarly Life of Prithvi Narayan Shah (in Nepali), recently published at Darjiling, ch. 16.]

M. GENTIL AT THE OUDH COURT.—[P. 40] The new reign [that of Asaf-ud-daulah, January 1775] has shown the French [in Oudh service] that they have nothing more to hope for in this country. M. Gentil has received a dismissal as curt as rude. He had been twelve years in the service of Shuja-ud-daulah and singularly affectionate to his person. He is a man of spirit, to which is not wanting a soul stronger for playing in Hindustan a more agreeable and brilliant role than a stranger without title and without character can represent. It is he that has placed round the Nawab that multitude of Frenchmen.

[P. 41] A very singular incident happened which very inopportunately disturbed the Calcutta Council. A Frenchman named Debraux, established at Chandernagore, who had been a lieutenant in the Regiment of Lorraine had come to Faizabad for certain operations of trade. M. Gentil received him and lodged him in his own house. He afterwards talked with him about what he judged could be done by them for engaging Shuja-ud-daulah to descend upon Bengal with an army if France had a rupture with the English.

During this time M. Gentil had demanded and obtained, in favour [P. 42] of two individual Englishmen, a *parwana* of the Nawab [of Oudh] for extracting a certain quantity of saltpetre from the neighbourhood of Faizabad. The *parwana* was a letter from the Nawab to the *faujdar* of the place, ordering him to allow the aforesaid extraction to be made. Debraux subtly found the letter in the cabinet of M. Gentil, and ignorant of its contents put it into his pocket, without M. Gentil perceiving it. He returned to Chandernagore, whence he immediately afterwards passed to France.

Arrived at Versailles, he boldly presented a memoir to M. the Duc de Praslin, in which he ventured to advance that he had been sent by the Grand Vizier of the Mughal Empire to offer to the King [of France a promise] to attack the English in Bengal at the moment when His Majesty would declare war on them. He demanded, in consequence, on his part, some thousand muskets and other things of which I have forgotten the details; and he produced as his letter of credence, fully authorising his mission, the *parwana* granted to those two Englishmen for the extraction of some ore of saltpetre.

The letter was sent to the Library of the King for translation. They were strangely surprised at its contents. But the pretended ambassador was not at all non-plussed; he impudently maintained that the expressions used were in cypher for preventing the English from suspecting the negotiation, that the supposed names of the two English individuals were no other than those of Debraux himself and M. Gentil, that the saltpetre to be sent out

evidently signified the army of the Nawab, in readiness to enter Bengal, and fifty other things thus finely imagined.

The Duc de Praslin had the goodness to recompense him for these impertinences, and I can very well give the reason if I like. He believed the commission of that impostor to be as real as if he had been furnished with the best titles. He granted him, at his demand, the post of Chief of the French *loge* (*kothi*) at Patna in order to enable him to be within easier reach for watching over the execution of the designs [P. 43] which he had come to execute. Orders were given to M. Chevalier to pursue that fine negotiation. M. Gentil had, for his part, the Cross of St. Louis; and M. Chevalier, after receiving the order of the minister, was, I believe, very much surprised to discover how that affair had been conducted.

However, it passed for an established fact at Calcutta that Shuja-ud-daulah, at the solicitations of M. Gentil, had written to the minister of the King of France. The Government in London wrote so positively to the Council [at Calcutta] that the latter had no means of doubting it. The Council ordered [their Resident] to demand of Shujaudaulah that he should expel M. Gentil from his territory. Shuja resisted for some time, but at last was constrained to order him to retire,—telling him, however, in secret to protract his departure; and it can be believed that, but for the death of Shujaudaulah, M. Gentil would not even now have left Hindustan, as he has at last been constrained to do. [N. B. A good account of Gentil's adventures when hunted by the English is given in Khair-ud-din's Persian history, *Ibratnamah*.]

SOMBRE.—[P. 53] Two Franks also played a very distinguished role on this stage. The older of the two is a German who had been sergeant in the army of our Company of the Indies in Bengal. The result of the events which befell the French [in Bengal] had placed him in the service of Qasim Ali Khan. It was he who was charged with the slaughter of the English prisoners at Patna. He acquitted himself of that commission strictly (*en homme exact*). One can easily believe that since that time he has been bad in the estimation of the English papers. The ruin of Qasim Ali Khan forced him to seek his fortune elsewhere. He was for some time in the service of Shuja-ud-daulah, but when the latter made his treaty with the English, this man was again compelled to go away. He pushed into Hindustan (*i.e.*, the Upper Provinces), and serving now one now another chief he acquired such a knowledge of that hydra of opposite interests that he passed universally for one of the best politicians of Hindustan. His nickname is Sombre, undoubtedly because of his character, which is secret and mysterious. His real name is Walter Reinhard. I do not know from what country of Germany he has come.

He is veritably an extraordinary man who has raised himself from nothing by his courage and his spirit and gained consideration in a great empire. He has an army which belongs to him and which is well paid and well disciplined. His artillery is the best entertained in this country. He is actually in the service of the Emperor, but subordinate to Najaf Khan, that is to say he serves that Nawab only. It is said that he has so much adopted Indian

manners that he is not remembered as a European. M. Sombre is veritably a man of merit, because it is after all impossible to rise to such personal credit without great talents. It is said that he enjoys an immense fortune. . . .

[P. 268] I have spoken of M. Sombre at the beginning of these Memoirs. I did not know him then ; but I have had occasion to see him since. His father was a rustic (*paysan*) but respectable man and also in easy circumstances. The son enlisted early in the army of the King of France. He was a trooper in the Regiment of Carabiniers at the battle of Dettingen. He deserted in the evening after the action and went to sell [read *vendre* for *rendre*] his horse at Mayence, whence he embarked on the Rhine for sailing down to Holland, from which country he intended to pass into Spain, being resolved to take service in the regiment of the Walloon guards, which ought to be considered as the grand seminary of the deserters of our Europe. On arriving at Middlebourg, he found a ship ready to start for India in which he embarked.

He is a very good-looking man, 62 years of age, who has plenty of sense and reason. His conversation is simple and instructive, full of a certain soldierly frankness which has its agreeableness and dignity. He has so much adopted the manners and prejudices of the country that many of the Mughals believe him to be born in India. He speaks almost all the languages, and although he knows neither to read nor to write, he maintains a very vast correspondence. He is very considerate and [P. 269] his conduct, always prudent (*sage*) and measured, gives to his quality of chief of a corps (*parti*) great stability. His camp is kept in good order. His artillery, which consists of fourteen pieces of cannon of different calibres, is well mounted and well supplied with munitions.

Incredible stories are told about his wealth, but he cannot be drawn on that point by the most active curiosity. I remarked in his conversation a trait which appeared to me to disclose his character marvellously. He spoke to me of a silver mine which he maintains exists in a mountain on which the castle of Horbach stands, and he told me the particulars, true or false, all based on hearsay, as if he feared that some one might abuse that important secret (*sic.*) I have had extreme pleasure in making him narrate his movements and adventures in India ; above all the description of the country of Kashmir pleased me much. He maintained that if he went to that country with the forces he had, he would gain possession of it ; and I believe that if he were twenty years younger, he would have attempted that expedition.

He is very devout in his superstitious manner and credulous like a good German. He fasts on the ordained days. He has built the Church at Agra. He gives away alms and procures for himself as many masses as he can buy. He fears the Devil as much as the English, but that does not prevent him from having a numerous seraglio, far beyond his needs.

I found his camp pitched with more symmetry than other generals',—without any resemblance to (*rapport*) but nevertheless on the principles of our castle-building (*castramétation*). The camp forms a triangle. His artillery is distributed on the three faces, [P. 270] and he made me note how, from

whichever side the enemy might come, he could always give them battle, I believe M. Sombre to be master of three to four millions of our money, without counting his arms, his artillery, his munitions, his baggages, and all the paraphernalia of his small army. He has a son by one of his wives, whom he is bringing up in a house which he owns near Agra.

He does not think at all of the future, nor worry himself as to what would become of his property after his death ; what is all the more reasonable (?) is that he does not enjoy it in his lifetime. He has the passion of amassing, so common to old men. He appeared to me, at certain times, to be disgusted with the life he was leading, and I well believe that if he were within reach of any French or Dutch establishment in which he could find his security, he would finish by retiring there for living in repose.

POLIER.—[P. 303] Some weeks before the capture of Dig [by Mirza Najaf Khan, on 30 April 1776] Major Polier passed by Agra and without stopping took the road to Delhi. He is an officer of merit and a very honest man. He comes of a family originally of Poitou, but established for a long time past in Lausanne. He had been sent to Faizabad to reside with Shuja-ud-daulah, whose affection and confidence he gained. The changes which followed in the English administration of Bengal were not favourable to Major Polier. General Clavering ordered him to return to Calcutta. It was only with infinite trouble that he obtained permission to return to Faizabad for putting his affairs there in order . . . [really, to wait for the Home authorities' orders upsetting Clavering's arrangements.]

[P. 304] This officer acquired a considerable fortune from the favours (*avantages*) which Shuja-ud-daulah did to him ; but he dissipated it in the same proportion, so that he found himself very much embarrassed for his subsistence. He was well received by the Emperor(1) who had known him from of old. They (*i.e.*, the Delhi Court) made to him all the caresses that they could think of ; but he received no further advancement, and was obliged to sell one after another the jewels and rareties which he had collected during the days of his fortune at Faizabad. The Padishah sent to him a *parwana* for the possession of a *jagir* which he bestowed on him. The *jagir* was in the hands of Najaf Khan, who refused to give it up, I do not know on what pretext. He (*i.e.*, Najaf Khan) was, however, under great obligations to Major Polier. Without the counsels of that officer he could not have succeeded in dislodging the Jats from the citadel of Agra ; besides which he had received from the latter Rs. 50,000 worth of cloth for dressing his sepoys in and he still owed him that amount. Najaf Khan was undoubtedly hurt to see that Major Polier went to Delhi under the protection of the Padishah, without previously visiting his camp by which he passed.

CHEVALIER DUDRENEC.—[P. 317] He is a well born man (*gentil homme*) of a very good house of Brittany. He had been obliged to quit the marine of the King in consequence of certain youthful pranks (*étourderies*) which they have reason not to tolerate in the corps but which could be pardoned

(1) Polier had audience of Shah Alam II. on 17 March 1776.

in favour of age and experience. Since his coming to India, his conduct in all that did not concern his personal affairs, has not merited any reproach. He is a young man, alert, active and full of courage. He knows the language [Hindustani] very well, and as he is well made in person besides being big and strong and always in good humour, all the Mughal lords love him.

MADEC.—[P. 54] M. Madec is the second Frank renowned in Hindustan. He has not the fortune of Sombre, but he has real merit joined to moral qualities which renders him far more estimable. He is celebrated throughout the empire for his actions of vigour indicating the greatest courage. M. Madec was born in the province of Brittany, of a respectable family of Quimper. He came to the Indies almost a child and saved himself from the misfortunes of his vessel⁽²⁾ to join the French army which M. Dupleix was employing in the Carnatic. He was found during five years [present] in all the occasions [of war] which have signalised the government of M. Dupleix and ended that grand scene with the capture and destruction of Pondicherry. M. Madec was taken to Bengal as a prisoner of war, where wearying of his captivity, he took part in the service of the English, which he quitted at the first opportunity, drawing away with himself all his companions in misfortune who had been similarly obliged to enlist in the same service.

After a thousand occurrences which are too long to be narrated,—M. Madec, having gained by a conduct straight and vigorous the esteem and confidence of the chief personages of Hindustan, has formed a party which is now a small army. He has an infantry divided into battalions, of which the soldiers are dressed [in uniform] and disciplined in our manner,—a corps of cavalry on the same plan, and a train of artillery which he proposes to perfect still more. He has assembled round himself some fifty Frenchmen, and that number will be considerably increased, because he is so respectable and so generous that they fail not to present themselves before him from all sides. The Emperor has given him, besides the highest title in usage in the country,—a province 25 *kos* to the south of Agra [namely *Bāri pargana*] for supporting his army, and he well owes to him such favours because it was not long ago that Madec by his courage saved the great and unfortunate city of Delhi from a general pillage after a lost battle [17th December, 1772] with the Marathas.

[P. 55] I have seen few men more honourable and more polite than M. Madec. His great pleasure is to render service, and I say on the subject that it seems astonishing to me that M. Chevalier, commandant for the King in Bengal, has not caused to be made known at the [French] Court a man of such merit, who may be singularly useful to the service of the King in circumstances which it is easy to divine and whom it is profitable to encourage and attach by recompenses and honourable distinctions.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

(2) *L'Auguste*, see Barbé, pp. 8-9.

Some Soldiers of Fortune

XXIII.

FOUR SARDHANA OFFICERS

DURING the past year I have been able to ascertain the names of four officers in the Begam Sombre's service, all British subjects, who are not mentioned either in the general literature of the military adventurers in India or in the extensive special studies of the Sardhana régime.

The names of these four officers were Lewin, Redgrove, Spencer and Butler ; and though full details of their careers are not yet known, it appears by no means impossible that more may come to light, and that descendants of theirs may be traced.

LEWIN AND REDGROVE

IN *Panjab Notes & Queries*, April 1884, p. 80, a correspondent signing himself A. P. W. asserted that the Begam Sombre had allotted wives from amongst her slaves to Troup, Solaroli, Regalini (sic) and other of her officers, "nor did she even forget in this respect the domestic welfare of even her bandmaster, an ex-Jew named Lewin". This assertion was denied in the issue for August 1884, p. 128, in the following note :—

"I wish to correct once and for all the statements in note 627 regarding Troup, Solaroli, Reghelini and Lewin. I was personally acquainted with all, and Lewin was my father, so I am in a better position to know the facts of the case than anyone else. Troup, Solaroli, and Reghelini were *not* married to the Begam's slave-girls. Troup and Solaroli married Colonel Dyce's daughters, who with their brother Dyce Sombre were the *adopted* children of the Begam. Troup eventually settled in Scotland, and Solaroli in Italy, where their children still are [this is wrong, for Troup had no issue], and the latter *after* his return received titular rank in his own country. Reghelini died in India. He was the architect of the Sardhana Cathedral, and spent most of his life at that place. As to my father. At a time when a Jew was an abomination to Muhammadans and Roman Catholics, he had the courage always to declare himself to be what he really was—a Jew—even though he had embraced Christianity, being baptized at Meerut by Mr. Fisher, the Chaplain. His father was head reader or Rabbi of the German Synagogue in Duke's Place, London, but subsequently became a Christian and died in possession of a living in the Church of England at Lynn, in Norfolk. My

father was never the Begam's bandmaster, but served in her army, and was her agent at the Courts of Delhi and Gwalior. When Colonel Dyce was disgraced [1827/8] he [viz. Lewin] was ordered to Sardhana, and was entrusted with the chief authority by the Begam, but he would not retain it, as he disliked her policy. He never married a slave-girl, but the daughter of Major (Sardhana rank) Redgrove, Commandant of the Begam's Artillery, and a native of Norwich, by a daughter of Xavier, born in lawful wedlock. I trust that the authority on which this is written is sufficient to settle the question forever.—ISAAC REDGROVE LEWIN, Dalhousie, 16 May, 1884."

"A. P. W." made amends in the issue for November 1884, p. 27, writing: "The information I gave as to their domestic arrangements was gathered in 1845, when I thought the events too recent to admit of falsification. The remarks I made were based on beliefs commonly current in Meerut at that time. I of course accept Mr. Lewin's account of his own paternity."

Whilst on the subject of the Begam's bandmaster, we may note that he was a M. Antoine,⁽¹⁾ who after her death in 1836 sought a service with Ranjit Singh (*Begam Samru*, by Brajendranath Banerji, Calcutta, 1925, p. 181).

The identity of Isaac Redgrove Lewin is established by a monumental inscription printed in the recently published *Supplementary list of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in the Punjab etc.* (Govt. Press, Lahore, 1936, p. 10). In the Upper Cemetery at Dharmsala, Kangra District, is a grave inscribed: "In sacred and loving memory of Issac Redgrave (sic) Lewin, M.A., Ph.D., Chaplain of Dharmsala. Born November 14th, 1824. Died July 20th, 1892."

SPENCER AND BUTLER

On 17 April, 1834 the Begam Sombre executed a Deed of Gift in respect of a great part of her property in favour of her adopted son David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre. Amongst those who attested this document by affixing their signatures were E. W. Butler and W. Spencer, who signed as "Orderlies"—that is to say, orderly officers or what we should now term aides-de-camp.⁽¹⁾

In a deposition by Reghelini, in the Appeal Papers (Vol. II, p. 178) there is a mention of "Captain Spencer who had been in the Begam Sombre's service"; and Dyce Sombre's diary (printed in the same papers) has occasional vague references to Philip Spencer, George Spencer, Jack Spencer, and one Spencer's "Java prize money". These references must manifestly relate to more than one person; and Philip, George and Jack can hardly be identified with W. Spencer who signed the Deed of Gift, if the latter's initial is printed

(1) This Antoine may possibly be identified with, or have been related to, one Philip Antoine (*alias* Anthony or Antoon) who was the Begam's Adjutant-General in 1835. His name tempts one to surmise that he was either a Goan or an Eurasian of French descent. The same Philip Antoine seems to have been also Commandant of the Begam's First Battalion of Infantry; and will be dealt with in a later article in this series.

(1) *Mr. Dyce Sombre's Refutation of the Charges of Lunacy* . . . , Paris, 1849, p. 379.

rightly in the *Refutation*. Major Hodson kindly informs us that no commissioned officer in the East India Company's service named Spencer drew prize-money for Java ; and the Librarian of the War Office cannot trace any officer named Spencer in H. M. Service who served in Java.

The identity of W. Spencer must therefore remain a mystery for the present ; but as regards his brother aide-de-camp, we have a little more information. Dyce Sombre's diary, under date 31st January, 1835, mentions that Butler had been appointed to the *pargana* of Sardhana. Though this was a civil post, we learn from a previous entry in the diary that Butler had been promoted Captain on 18th December, 1834, vice Reghelini then promoted to Major. (One Kooonstive, of whom nothing is known, was made a lieutenant on the same date in place of Butler).

Major Hodson thinks it likely that Captain E. W. Butler may be the Edward William Butler who is mentioned as a son in the will of Lieut.-Col. Edward William Butler of the Bengal Artillery.

XXIV.

THE NIZAM'S FRENCH CORPS

The following is the full transcript of a MS. in my possession, which came from the Melville State Papers. The original is docketed "Duplicate of Queries..." [continues as in heading]. Some extracts from another copy (location not given) were printed in *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent*, by Major [now Brigadier-General] R. G. Burton, Calcutta, 1905, pp. 9-11. The "Queries" were also, I believe, quoted by Torrens in his life of Wellesley.

QUERIES PROPOSED BY LORD MORNINGTON TO MAJOR KIRKPATRICK, WITH THE ANSWERS OF THE LATTER.

QUESTION 1ST.

What was the Origin of the Corps disciplined by European Officers now in the Service of the Nizam?

ANSWER.

This Corps consisted, during the late War in Mysore (or at so recent a Period as 1792) of no more, I think, than One Battalion ; at most, only of Two, which had been raised not long before the Commencement of that War, by its present chief Commander, Raymond ; a French Adventurer, formerly belonging to the Corps of Lally. Du Boigne's and some other

regular Bodies of Infantry (with field Pieces attached) had been formed, antecedently to this Period, both by Mhadajee Scindiah and Tukojee Holcar, & it was probably a consideration of the important & abundantly obvious Advantages which the former of these Chiefs in particular had derived from such an Establishment that first suggested to Azim ul Omra the Expediency of a similar Institution. Raymond's Battalion served during the War principally, I believe, in Conjunction with the Detachment of the Company's Troops furnished, according to Treaty, to the Nizam.

QUESTION 2ND.

What has been the Augmentation of that Corps? At What Periods of Time has that Augmentation taken Place? To what Causes is it to be attributed? And is there any Ground for believing that either the Formation or Augmentation of that Corps proceeded from any hostile Disposition towards the British Interests?

ANSWER.

I am not acquainted with the Terms or the Extent of Azim ul Omra's original Agreement with Raymond ; but I deem it probable that it went to the Establishment of more Corps than were immediately raised. Be this as it may, the Peace of Seringapatam had not long been concluded when the Minister authorized and, I believe, afterwards from Time to Time frequently urged him to complete his Corps, with all possible Expedition, to Fourteen Battalions or Regiments of a Thousand Men each. Such a large Augmentation might in some Measure appear expedient on Account of the great Extension of territory obtained by the Court of Hyderabad through that Peace, but I am disposed to think that it sprung, principally, from a Desire of preparing for that contest with the Mahrattahs so long before in the contemplation of the Minister ; and which accordingly followed soon after. I see no Reason to suppose that the Measure was connected either immediately, or remotely, at least in the Mind of Azim ul Omra (whatever might be the case in Regard to Raymond) with any Views of a Nature hostile to Our Interests.

But although the Corps was thus directed to be augmented to fourteen thousand men, yet Raymond had not been able to complete it to this Establishment when the Nizam took the Field against the Mahrattahs. Its Strength at the Affair of Kurdlah hardly exceeded eleven thousand Men, but that he should have been able to increase it even to this Amount within so short a Period as 2 years is a circumstance that no Doubt evinces the Activity & Resources of himself and officers to have been very considerable.

Some time after the Return of the Army to Hyderabad from the unfortunate Expedition just alluded to, a nominal Reduction of Raymond's Corps took place ; that is to say, the acting Minister in a Fit either of Economy, or of temporary dissatisfaction with its Commander, directed the recruiting for it to be discontinued, in consequence of which its Remains were compressed into Two Battalions or Regiments of a Thousand Men each.

In this State it appears to have continued until the Return of Azim ul Omra to Hyderabad ; but according to the latest Accounts, the Minister would seem disposed if he had not actually agreed, to its being once more augmented to, at least, its formerly intended Establishment of fourteen thousand Men. If he should absolutely have adopted the Measure, either he has done so on some particular suggestion of Raymond, or with some Sinister View of thereby working upon our Jealousy of that Frenchman's growing Power. For if he had really judged an Increase of the Regular Infantry of the State necessary, his Purpose would have been equally well answered by making the requisite Augmentation upon the rival Corps of Finglass. This too is the Step which he ought to have taken consistently with his own spontaneous Professions on the Subject of Raymond to the Assistant at Hyderabad, immediately upon his Return thither from Poona ; when he affected at least, if he did not feel, considerable Uneasiness at the Conduct and Disposition displayed by that Frenchman in his Absence, and no less Solicitude to circumscribe within very narrow Limits, if not altogether annihilate, his Power ; Neither the Fact, however, upon which the present Reasoning proceeds, (that is to say, the actual Augmentation of the Corps) nor the still more important one of the Annexation of Khummummaith(1) to the already enormous Territorial Assignment held by Raymond, is sufficiently established, to permit of our building any strong conclusions upon one or the other. It may, nevertheless, be allowable to observe in this Place that there will be but too much Ground for fearing, should either or both of the Points in Question turn out to be true, that Azim ul Omra must have been moved to proceeding so offensive (as he well knows) to us, and so much at Variance with his own recent Declaration, by a Notion of the Possibility, not to say Probability, of the French Nation acquiring, at no distant Period, a decided Ascendancy in India, as well as in Europe. There can be no doubt of the unceasing Endeavours of the French Party at Hyderabad to instill this Notion into everyone about that Court ; and when it is considered that they have from Ten to Twelve thousand tongues by Means of which they can diffuse among a People prone from the highest to the lowest, to believe the marvellous and striking, their true, false, or exaggerated Accounts of the Successes & Projects of their Nation, it will not perhaps be wondered at, that the Efforts of the Residency to expose their Misrepresentations, or counteract their Views in them, should not always be successful.

There cannot, perhaps, be a fitter Occasion than the present for remarking on the pernicious Effects too often produced (I confine myself in what I here say to the Court of Hyderabad) by such of our India Newspapers as are conducted, either by Inconsiderate or by ill-principled Men ; but especially by the latter. The Residency has more than once in its Attempts to prove the Falsehood or Exaggeration of certain Reports respecting the French Successes, been gravely referred for the Authenticity of them to English Prints ; nor has it unfrequently happened that such Falsehoods or Exaggerations have appeared in Papers professing to be published by Authority, or, at least, enjoying the

(1) Alluded to in the Notes.

Favor of Government. The Bombay Courier⁽²⁾ (which is in exclusive Possession of all the public Business of that Presidency) & the Asiatic Mirror (a Calcutta Print) fall particularly under the Description of Papers managed by Persons of politically evil Disposition. The Arguments in Vindication of the unrestrained Freedom of the Press in England certainly cannot be fairly or reasonably applied to the State of British Society in India. It is difficult indeed to conceive any political Good or right it can serve to promote or secure among the latter, while on the other hand, the Danger to the national Interests in such a Country, with which it is pregnant, is very considerable. I am not likely to be supposed desirous of the Abolition of the Indian Press were such a thing practicable, but certainly every reflecting Man & good Subject must wish to see its Communication of and Comments on public Events under better Regulation than they are at present.

QUESTION 3RD.

What is the present Strength of the Corps, the State of its Discipline, & the Number of its European Officers? Of what Nation is the Majority of those Officers composed? And what are the Characters & Principles of those who bear the Chief Command?

ANSWER.

With Respect to its Present Strength, the Answer occurs (as far as Circumstances enable me to furnish it with Accuracy) in the preceding Reply ; to which it seems only necessary to add that, besides a Field Train of Artillery consisting of about thirty Pieces, & on the whole pretty well appointed, there is attached to the Corps a Troop of perhaps 60 native Dragoons (the embryo of a larger Body of regular Cavalry which Raymond manifests a Desire of raising). With the exception of an European officer to each Battalion or Regiment (as it is most commonly called) and a sort of second to a few of them, all the other Europeans to the Number I apprehend of about fifty, constituted at one time a separate Corps. They have latterly however either been stationed to the Artillery or distributed in the Character of Serjeants among the several Regiments ; an Alteration that I take to be an important Improvement in his System. These Men consist of various Nations, & among them they are, I am sorry to say, but too many English Deserters from the Company's Artillery, who have been often but fruitlessly reclaimed. The Parade Appearance of the Corps is in general good, that of Perron's is particularly so. In other Respects however its Discipline would not seem to be very strict, which most probably operates as a powerful Inducement with many of the Natives of the Company's as well as of the Nizam's country to prefer the Service of Raymond to ours. Whatever may be the Cause it is too

(2) See particularly the Introduction to an Extraordinary Bombay Courier of July, 1797 containing, among other articles, the Proclamation of the Emperor (of the 4th April preceding) announcing approaching Negotiations for a Peace with the French. An Overland Document obtained, of course, by the Editor by the Favor of Government.

certain a Fact, I fear, that this Frenchman has greater Facility in recruiting than our Carnatic Officers experience.

I believe the Number of Officers properly so called do not at present, or did not lately exceed twelve ; & that the Whole of these are Frenchmen, with the Exception, perhaps, of one or two jacobinized Germans. He had formerly an Hanoverian of some professional Merit in his Corps, who had been an Ensign in his Majesty's service. This Man however was soon dismissed & was afterwards assassinated by a furious Democrat in the Employ of the Chief of the Pangahs. He had also with him at one time a French Gentleman who had been an Officer in the Regiment of Pondicherry, but openly professing his Attachment to Royalty, he likewise speedily lost his Situation & was finally obliged to quit the Country. The best disposed Man in the Corps is, or was some time since, one Salnave, Commandant of a Regiment & supposed to be secretly averse to the Democratic Party. With the exception of Perron, Baptiste and perhaps one or two more favourites the Officers were represented to be dissatisfied with Raymond on account of his Hardness & Want of Liberality in Pecuniary Matters. But as they would nearly all appear to be of the Jacobinical Stamp, & have no Prospect of bettering themselves elsewhere, this Circumstance alone will hardly induce any of them to leave him ; especially as he has contrived to make it very difficult for them to do so without his Consent. Besides he possesses a Resource (such as it is) for replacing any he may lose by Desertion, or otherwise, in his Rank of Serjeants, most of whom are just as likely to be qualified for the Command of Corps, as the Majority of those at present holding them.

Raymond himself would not appear to be a man of vigorous Mind, or, in any Respect of a very decided Character ; he has never shewn himself to be much of a Soldier ; but he is artful, seems to have an arranging head ; & is sufficiently conciliating in his Manners towards those he has to deal with. He is an undoubted Republican in Principle, but I do not know that he is a violent one. I should rather suppose from the general Mould of his Character that he was not. I take him to be about forty five years of Age.

Perron, who is his Second, is a Native of Alsace & several Years younger than his Chief. He appears to be a far more enterprising & active Man than the Latter, & to be particularly fond of the Military profession. I understand he is an outrageous Jacobin, as some Proof of which it may be mentioned that he sent not long since to his Namesake, & Countryman, the Successor of Du Boigne in the Service of Scindeah, a Silver tree & Cap of Liberty, the Acceptance of which is said however to have been declined by the latter. Perron at the head of 2 Regiments was with Azim ul Omra during the latter Part of that Minister's Stay at Poona, on which Occasion he would of course not neglect to cultivate his Namesake, or to disseminate his own Principles, as well as he could, among the Officers belonging to him. It happens however, either that Scindeah's Perron is lukewarm in his politics, or that having several British Subjects in his Corps (introduced into it by Du Boigne) one of whom named Sutherland commands a Brigade of 6 or 7 Battalions he does not yet consider it safe or prudent to countenance any Movements of this Nature,

Baptiste who stands next in Rank to, is not a less bitter Jacobin than, Perron, but he is very much his inferior in point of military endowments. What he wants, however, as a Soldier is made up by a certain gasconading Manner that suits very well the Genius of the Court he belongs to ; by great Activity & Cunning ; & above all by a larger Stock of that unprincipled Sort of Address so useful in the management of low Intrigue and the Conduct of pecuniary Transactions with the Cases he has usually to deal with. He is also eminently and peculiarly serviceable to Raymond as the main Link of his Correspondence with Pondicherry, Tranquebar & Narpilly ; & as his Agent for enticing French & other Deserters, both Native & European, and facilitating their Escape to Khummum, where, just at our Door, as may be said, this bustling Emissary of Seduction, and Procurator of all material Supplies any Way connected with, or depending on, the Carnatic, has established his head Quarters. I consider both Perron and Baptiste as much abler Men, that is, more equal to the Purposes of Mischief, or such Purposes as the French Government may be supposed to machinate against us in the Hyderabad Quarter ; than Raymond, & should accordingly be sorry to see his Command devolve on either of them.

I have nothing to add respecting the Characters or Dispositions of any of the Rest of the Officers of this Corps, to what has already been said generally of the whole, at least not of sufficient Interest or Certainty to merit Attention.

QUESTION 4TH.

In what Mode is the Corps paid & recruited ? Of what Nation are the Ranks composed ? Where is it stationed ? What have been its Operations ? What Effects has its Existence already produced upon the British Interests at the Court of Hyderabad or elsewhere ? And what Dangers are to be apprehended to those Interests from its Continuance ?

ANSWER.

Till the Period of Azim ul Omra's Capacity, the Corps had always been paid, either immediately from the Treasury at Hyderabad, or by occasional *Tunkhaws* or the Revenue Collection, with the Exception only of a permanent Assignment on the Revenue of *Khummmum* proper which he had previously obtained as a Fund for the Payment of a particular Division of his Corps, nominally distinguished by the Appellation of *Solyman Jah's Rissalah*. During the Administration, however, of the Roy Royan, he contrived to procure on a still better footing, the whole Sircar of Maiduck, a fertile District computed to yield about 18 Lacks of Rupees and fully adequate, I believe, to the total charges of his Corps as fixed by Agreement. (This was among the financial arrangements of the Roy Royan in the absence of Azim ul Omra that appeared to give the latter the most Displeasure, as placing this Corps in a higher & more independent View than it had hitherto been his own policy to assign to it. We have nevertheless since heard of his being prepared to follow the Example of the Roy Royan in this particular by

granting to Raymond another extensive District (namely Khummummit) in Addition to what he already held.

The Corps is recruited more or less from all the Provinces of the Nizam's Dominions, but from none so much as from Aurangabad : partly, I believe, from the adjacent Mahrattah Districts ; and but in too great a Measure from the Dependencies of the Carnatic, particularly the northern Circars. The Majority of the Native Officers would, more especially, appear to be Natives of the latter ; & of them a large Proportion have been educated in the military Service of the Company. I had taken some Measures before my departure from Hyderabad for ascertaining as well as possible the Name and birth Places of all the Men of this Corps, but in Particular of its Native Officers, with a view of thereby obtaining some hold thro' the Medium of their Families, on such as might prove to belong to the Company's Dominions. It may be observed in this Place that the Pay of the coast Sepoy in Garrison or Cantonment is less by a Rupee (I believe) than that of Raymond's Sepoy whose duty too is easier. If it were raised a Rupee, the Effect would, probably, soon appear both in the Decrease of Desertion, & in a greater Facility of recruiting than is experienced at present. A Proclamation too might be issued forbidding the Natives of our own Territories, under certain Penalties, from entering into the military Service of foreign Powers.

The Station of the Corps has varied according to circumstances. Raymond seems adverse (and several reasons for this may be conceived) to its being divided, and its usual Head Quarters are in the Vicinity of Hyderabad where he has established a sort of Cantonment for it. Its professional Services have hitherto been very inconsiderable. I have already glanced at those performed by what may be called the Root of it, in conjunction with our Detachment last War ; and which principally appeared in the Siege of *Kopul*. At *Khurdlah* (in 1795) the Corps certainly gathered no Laurels ; but if it did not acquit itself on that Occasion with Spirit, the Nizam himself as well as his Minister displayed still less. The Rebellion of *Rachore*, headed by the late *Dura Jah's* Son, was subdued by our Detachment ; for two Regiments of Raymond's employed on that Service under the Command of the *Monsr Salinave*, mentioned above, had but little shares in the Business. In the Insurrection of *Ali Jah* it happened fortunately for Raymond that the Prince directed his Flight to a Quarter whither he could not be pursued by our Troops without the consent of the *Mahrattahs*. Raymond by simply following him to *Aurangabad*, where the Prince submitted without further Struggle, acquired the Credit of having crushed a formidable Conspiracy. The military Actions of neither Party, in the course of this short Contest, were of the least Importance. For the rest, the Services of the Corps have been much of the Nature of those performed elsewhere by *Sebundy* or *Pergunnah* Troops.

The principal Effects hitherto produced, or likely hereafter to be produced by this Corps upon the British Interests, are referable to the Circumstance of its being Commanded by men belonging to a Nation & very probably devoted to a Government, which we have abundant Reason to believe have nothing so much at Heart as the Destruction of our Power in India. It

cannot, I am persuaded, be requisite to enlarge on the Dangers liable to proceed from such a source, or expatiate either on the probable or possible consequences of so constant, intimate, & unrestrained an Intercourse, as must necessarily subsist, in the case before us, between the Agents of Jacobinism and of the implacable Enemies of Great Britain, and the Court of one of our principal Allies ; that Court too never distinguished for the Inviolability of its Engagements ; & certainly governed less by Views of Honor, sound Policy, or Justice, than by the variable motives of supposed Safety, of Low Prudence, of personal Ease & immediate Advantage. It is plain that so close and mutual a Relation between the Nizam & the notorious Rivals of the English, is but too well calculated in the present Conjuncture, to excite Doubts in many of the Sincerity of his Highness's Friendship for us, and to encourage a Notion of the Probability of the French regaining their former Ascendancy at Hyderabad. It is the natural Tendency of such a Persuasion to promote the Purpose and the Operations of Raymond, by gaining him many useful Instruments and Adherents, so little obvious as to need being further insisted on.

There is however one particular Danger connected with the point immediately under discussion, of such an Aspect as to challenge the most serious Consideration. What I allude to is the Predicament we should be placed in, supposing a War with Tippoo to break out, by the unquestionably hostile Dispositions of Raymond & his Officers in general, seconded by the enterprising Spirit of some Individuals among them, which might, in such a case, become more or less transfused into the Commander himself. It is manifest that tho' this Corps constitutes the Chief, nay almost the sole Strength of the Nizam's Army, We should notwithstanding, be unable to employ it against the common Enemy, except at a risk to which its total Inactivity would be far preferable. But it is likewise obvious that We should not be altogether safe in leaving it behind us, since upon any sinister Accident to our Arms, or in the possible (happy no longer probable) Event of a French Armament appearing at such a Crisis in India, the Temptation of Raymond and his Officers openly to attempt something against us, might become very powerful. If Time permitted yet it would not perhaps be necessary to pursue this Consideration further, the bare Mention of the Matter seeming sufficient to suggest the whole Train of its Consequences. Whether the Evil admits of any eligible Remedy short of the radical one of entirely annihilating the Corps in Question, is a point on which different Opinions may be entertained. My own, however, is, that, under the existing Circumstances with Respect to us & France, circumstances, too, to the continuance of which no Period can be assigned—*it does not*.

Another prejudicial Effect of this Corps upon our Interests, & which tho' not of the same political Importance as the one just noticed is, nevertheless, of sufficient Magnitude to claim Attention, has already been touched on & consists in the Inducements it holds out to our European and Native Solidiery on the Coast, & in general to those Classes of the Inhabitants inclined to a military Life, to join its Standard ; giving Birth by this Means

to numerous Desertions from the Company's Army, and rendering it extremely difficult to raise Recruits for supplying even the ordinary Casualties of the Service. This is a Mischief that, no Doubt, might be corrected in a material Degree, as far as regarded Europeans particularly, by suitable Arrangements of Precaution & Vigilance ; while with respect to the Native some Augmentation of the Sepoy's Pay, followed by such a Proclamation as before suggested, could be found a still more effectual Remedy. The Evil, however, can never, perhaps, be completely removed while we have such a Neighbour as Raymond.

QUESTION 5TH.

Have you any Reason for believing that Raymond is in Correspondence with the French Government in Europe, or that of the Isle of France, or with Tippoo Sultan?

ANSWER.

I have no very substantial Proof of his being in Correspondence either with the Government of France, or with that of the Mauritius, though Whispers to this Effect have sometimes reached me from his Camp. The strongest Circumstance I know of indicating such an Intercourse, is his having fired a Salute about 2 years ago on Occasion, as was at least given out in his Party & reported to me by one of them, of his having recently received the Commission and Uniform of a General Officer from the French Government in Europe. Considering indeed the great Activity of that Government, the obvious Interest it has in attaching Raymond to its cause, and the Dispositions of the latter & his Officers, nothing certainly can be more reasonable than to suppose that an Intercourse subsists between them.

The Proofs of the Existence of a Correspondence between Raymond and Tippoo Sultan will, perhaps, be deemed less vague when one of these is stated to be the Discovery a few months ago, by the Assistant at Hyderabad, of a secret Intercourse between him & the Vakeel of the latter (Medina Saheb) residing at the Nizam's Court. It was conducted thro' the Medium of a third Person who, it is remarkable, disappeared immediately after his Name had been confidentially communicated to Azim ul Omra by Captain Kirkpatrick.

It is also a Fact sufficiently well established that the last secret Agent deputed by Tippoo to Hyderabad (namely Kadir Husan Khan) had charge of some Letters for Raymond ; but whether they were from the Sultan himself or only from Vigee's (formerly Lally's) Corps(3), I had not the Means of ascertaining.

QUESTION 6TH.

Does Raymond occupy any fortified Posts either on the Company's Frontier or elsewhere? And if he does, what is their Strength and Garrisons ;

(3) In the Service of Tippoo.

& what are the Advantages he derives, or disadvantages We suffer, from his Possession of them?

ANSWER.

He occupies two or three small Forts in the District of *Maiduck*, of which, as has been already mentioned, he is in some sort the Renter. They are however of but little Importance in a military View, and are in a Quarter too remote from the Carnatic.

The only Post he holds in our Neighbourhood is *Khumnum* where *Baptiste* (otherwise *Palliard*) has commanded for several years, and where a Regiment of the Corps has usually been stationed. The Fortifications are not, I believe, considerable, but they have been improved, I understand, by *Baptiste*. It serves *Raymond* as a Magazine, the Stores he from time to time procures from the Carnatic, being, in the first instance, deposited here, & forwarded as Occasion requires to *Hyderabad*. It is also conveniently situated for Communication with *Narpilly* (formerly a French post in the *Guntoor*) where *Raymond* has a Store house (ostensibly belonging to the *Nizam*) in Charge of a Frenchman of the name of *L'Empreur*. This is also the Point whence *Baptiste's* Emissaries issue for the purpose of inveigling Deserters, & procuring Recruits from the Adjacent Districts of *Ongole*, *Guntoor* &c. It is likewise the principal Link in *Raymond's* Communication with *Pondicherry*, most of his Messages to & from thence; all the French fugitives; & many Recruits, obtained in the same Quarter, pursuing the Route by *Kurpal* & *Khumnum*.

It is presumed that this hasty Sketch of the Advantages which *Raymond* derives from the possession of this Post, will sufficiently shew the Detriment it is of & may be to Us.

(to be continued)

H. BULLOCK.

The Santhal Insurrection of 1855-56

PART II.

A LARGE party of Santhals were advancing towards the border of Murshidabad District on the east of Pakur, when Mr. Toogood, the Magistrate of Murshidabad, started from Berhampur on 11th July, 1855, with a party of 400 men of 7th N. I. stationed there, towards Aurangabad. On hearing of the advance of the Santhals they were detained at the indigo factory of Mr. H. Maseyk at Dhulian whence they sent a party of 160 *barkandazes* for the protection of the factory of Mr. C. Maseyk (brother of the former) at Kadamsair. (69) The Berhampur troops arrived at Kadamsair on 13th July after the Santhals had already moved from that place ; but they pursued the insurgents to Palsa (14th July) where the latter extended their plundering activities and then proceeded to Maheshpur. The house of the Raja at Maheshpur was plundered and robbed of much wealth. (69a) The two companies of the 7th N. I. had an engagement in the morning of 15th July with 3000 or 4000 Santhals, who charged the troops "three times but were finally defeated". (69b) Sidhu, Kanhu and Bhyrub "were themselves shot, though not mortally, and 200 other Santhals killed and wounded ; above Rs. 7000 in cash and Rs. 4000 worth of goods, all plundered property were recovered". (69c) Two hundred men of 7th Regiment N. I. fell upon 5000 of the insurgents near Pakur on the bank of the Tarai river (69d) and routed them completely "killing great numbers and without single loss of life (on their own side)" (69e) Two unfortunate English ladies, Mrs. Thomas and Miss Pell (69f) and three European gentlemen, Mr. Henshawe and his two sons, were murdered by a party of the insurgents under the guidance of Tirbhuban Santhal, near Maharajpur.

Towards Birbhum also the insurrection had become formidable at Nalhati, Rampurhat, Nagore, Suri, Langulia, Gurjori and various other places. In fact, by the 20th of July, the revolt "had spread and was in activity" from Taldanga,

(69) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(69a) This is asserted by all the local records. "Pnouchila Santhal save uccarave Mahespur giye: Lutila dustacaya rājālaya, dhanaratna nila: nila save resami vasana svarṇabhūṣṇa, jekhaneja chila". Panchkathia Record.

(69b) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Major General Lloyd at Dinapur, dated 21st July, 1855.

(69c) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(69d) Pakur Record.

(69e) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Major Burroughs at Colgonj, dated 21 July, 1855.

(69f) Calcutta Review, 1856.

at the south-west of Birbhum on the Grand Trunk Road, and Sainthia on the south-east to Bhagalpur and Rajmahal on the Ganges at the north-west and north-east of the Bhagalpur district. (69g) In order to prevent the advance of the Santhals to the south of the Damodar river and of the Grand Trunk Road and also to protect the adjacent countries and Birbhum, the Ramgurh Irregular Light Horse, the Governor-General's Bodyguard, portions of the two Grenadiers, of the 50th, 56th and 37th Regiments and 200 Nizamat sepoy from the Guard of the Nawab of Murshidabad with 30 of his elephants besides 32 horse and at a later period 63rd N. I. had been put in motion. (69h) As we have already seen, the 7th and 31st N. I. had been employed on the Murshidabad border ; the Hill Rangers, and parts of the 40th, 42nd and 13th Regiments N. I. coming from Dinapore had been engaged towards Bhagalpur and Colgong. Garrison posts of the 7th and 31st N. I. and the Nizamat troops were kept at Pakur, Nalhati, Pali, Palsa, Aurangabad, Samserganj, Jangipur, Phudkipur and elsewhere "protecting the country on either side of the Murshidabad border from the Birbhum boundary to the Ganges river". (69i)

The Commissioner of Bhagalpur thought that "simultaneous movements on the insurgents by Bhagalpur, Birbhum and Rajmahal troops may be of great effect" (70) and he wrote to Major Burroughs at Colgong on 20th July strongly urging him "to adopt offensive measures against the Rebels". (71) But being anxious for the safety and defence of Bhagalpur, (72) he changed his plan on the next day and accordingly informed Major Burroughs that he should return to Bhagalpur with the Headquarters and 100 men of the Hill Rangers and that Major Shuckburgh would proceed to Colgong with the Headquarters and 200 men of the 40th Regiment leaving 100 of them behind at Bhagalpur. (73) He wrote to Mr. W. T. Tucker, Magistrate of Mongyr, on the same day cordially approving of his plan of "entertaining a guard of one thousand Ghatwals at a monthly charge of Three Thousand and Fifty Rupees to watch the passes" of his district but at the same time recommended him to be very "careful to ascertain their loyalty" before engaging their services for they being of a "cognate tribe with the Santhals" might "prove treacherous in hour of need." At Rajmahal, Mr. Richardson had with him only 120 men of the 7th Regiment N. I. and 38 men of the Hill Rangers which he considered "utterly insufficient" and so he sent to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur "an urgent requisition for more troops" (74) whereupon the latter wrote to Major General Lloyd at Dinapore on 21st July that more troops were "necessary for suppressing the rebellion which has assumed such a very alarming aspect. Not a day passes without fresh atrocities being perpetrated, villages

(69g) Ibid.

(69h) Ibid.

(69i) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(70) The Commissioner's letter to Burroughs, dated 19th July, 1855.

(71) The Commissioner's letter to Major Burroughs, dated 20th July, 1855.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Letter from the Commissioner to Major General Lloyd at Dinapore, dated 21st July, 1855.

plundered and burnt and the unfortunate inhabitants massacred without respect to age or sex". (75) Mr. Charles Harrington Barnes, indigo planter of the Colgong, Pirpaiti and Pyalapore concerns, who had lived in the district for more than fifteen years, offered his "services to render all necessary aid to the Troops proceeding against the Santhal rebels." "He was therefore given unrestricted powers" by the Commissioner of Bhagalpur "to obtain what may be necessary for the exigencies of the Public service and to call on all Police Officers, zamindars and others for their assistance", (76) and Mr. Chapman, then stationed with the troops at Colgong, was asked to return to Bhagalpur where his services were "more necessary".

In spite of all these precautions, very little had been done by the Military at Colgong till the 21st July towards the suppression of the insurrection. (77) Major Burroughs did not think it "advisable to leave Colgong till he obtains a further reinforcement." (78)

The Commissioner of Bhagalpur deeply regretted that "the troops have been allowed to remain inactive" (79) and solicited the permission of the Government of Bengal to issue another Proclamation like that of the 18th July. (80) He actually issued a Proclamation on 23rd July declaring thereby that "other castes of persons besides Santhals who may take up arms against the peaceable subjects to Government are to be considered rebels in like manner and treated accordingly", (81) and circulated it on 25th July, 1855, to the Judge of Bhagalpur, Purneah, Tirhut, Murshidabad, the Collectors of Bhagalpur, Mongyr, Purneah, the Magistrates of Patna, Murshidabad, Bhagalpur, Mongyr, Purneah, Tirhut and the Moulavi in charge of the Magistrate's office at Bhagalpur. Lala Sheo Sahay was appointed a *surbarakar* (*sarbārāhakāra*) on the part of the Government for procuring provisions and Mr. J. Dacosta, Munsiff of Bhagalpur, consented to take charge of carriage department; both of them rendered much help to the Collector of Bhagalpur. (82) Mr. W. J. Money of the Civil Service at Mongyr volunteered his services in place of Mr. Chapman (83) who on his return to Bhagalpur had begun to officiate as the Joint Magistrate with full powers till the Magistrate could return there. Mr. R. N. Shore was appointed as the Commissioner's assistant; Mr. Vincent, Deputy Magistrate of Barh, had been asked, as we have already seen, to assist the Commissioner of Bhagalpur but the Com-

(75) Ibid.

(76) Letter from the Commissioner to Charles Harrington Barnes at Colgong, dated 21st July, 1855.

(77) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 21st July, 1855, 11 p.m.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Ibid, para. 6.

(80) Letters Nos. 430 & 431 in the Commissioner's Record office at Bhagalpur.

(82) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Collector of Bhagalpur, dated 23rd July, 1855.

(83) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Collector of Mongyr, dated 24th July, 1855.

missioner of Patna objected to his leaving Barh. (84) At the same time Captain Waterman came from Dinapore to Bhagalpur at 10 A.M. on 25th July, 1855, with 300 men the 13th Regiment N. I. (85) The whole force with that promised further by Major General Lloyd was expected to be composed of an artillery with 2 guns, the 13th Regiment N. I., the 40th Regiment N. I. and another Native infantry Regiment from Benares. (86)

Major Burroughs' detachment was unable "to make head against the Insurgents" near Narainpur and Pirpainti. (87) All direct communication between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal being still suspended, Mr. George, Inspecting Postmaster, was endeavouring to "reopen the communication by organising an establishment of fast pulling boats". (88) Major Shuckburgh, accompanied by Captain Sherwill, with about 300 of the 40th Regiment N. I. proceeded from Bhagalpur on 25th July with an intention "to take up a line of his own going south to Dighee and thence to the east, till he reaches the Damin-i-koh, when he can either proceed northwards to Telleagurhee and to join Major Burroughs or to the south with the view of entering the Hills by the new dawk Road leading to Rajmahal". (89) Major Burroughs was thereafter ordered that a "strong detachment (of about 200 or 300 men) be immediately sent to Rajmahal,—a similar one to the south-west of Bhagalpur near Burkope and Godda besides other detachments in other directions." (90)

The panic at Bhagalpur had abated after the arrival of additional troops from Dinapore. The Commissioner did not then apprehend any attack on that city. (91) He expected that a "comparatively small force will be quite sufficient for the defence of the place in any extremity notwithstanding its great extent (more than five miles long) provided it could be handled by an energetic officer". (92) He also hoped to send a "strong detachment" to Rajmahal after the arrival of the 13th Regiment N. I. from Dinapore. (93)

But in the meanwhile the Commissioner received a telegraphic message from Calcutta informing him that his Proclamations of 18th and 23rd July were illegal and "must be recalled and cancelled and each reward offered therein reduced one half". (94) He obeyed the orders instantly and wrote accordingly on 26th July to the Magistrates and Judges of different places (as already noted)

(84) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 26th July, 1855.

(85) Letter from the Commissioner to Major Burroughs, dated 26th July, 1855.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Letter from the Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 26th July, 1855.

(88) Ibid.

(89) Letter from the Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 26th July, 1855.

(90) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Major Burroughs, dated 26th July, 1855, 6 p.m.

(91) Ibid, para. 6.

(92) Ibid.

(93) Ibid, para. 5.

(94) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 26th July, 1855, 9 p.m.

and also to Mr. Pontent, Superintendent of the Damin-i-koh ; (95) but he still advocated "Extreme Measures" for "Extreme Cases" and waited for "further instructions of the Lieutenant Governor on the subject." (96)

Major Burroughs remained at Pyalapore with 200 men of the 40th Regiment N. I.. Major Shuckburrugh who had, as we have already noted, left Bhagalpur on 25th July, marched on the 26th to Dighee (12 miles due south of Colgong) and proceeded on the 27th to Dukyte (Dakatia) and Lobundree (or Lohundea, half-way between Dighee and Borio),—both the places lying about 12 miles beyond Dighee in an E. S. E. direction,—and he expected to reach Borio on the following day. (97)

Captain Francis with 200 men of the 13th Regiment, being accompanied by Mr. W. J. Money (98) as civil authority, marched in the morning of the 28th of July towards Amarpur Bowsee (Bounsi, Mandar Hills) due south of Bhagalpur, to quell the insurrection which was very "ripe in that quarter". The Deputy Magistrate of Deoghur alarmed by the advance of the Santhals had taken to flight. (99) Referring to the above-mentioned advance of Major Shuckburrugh, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur sent the following instructions to Major Burroughs on 28th July, 1855 :—"If you were only to push your party in the same vigorous and determined manner towards Bhuggya (three miles to the west of Mirzachowki Railway station) the rebels would be hemmed in between the two forces and a most decisive blows might be struck. . . . " Mr. Barnes (the indigo-planter), whom the Commissioner had directed to relieve Major Burroughs, had to accompany Major Shuckburrugh, and so another arrangement being necessary, the Faujdari Naziar, Shaikh Azid Bux, was deputed by him to Major Burrough's camp to "represent the civil power on all requisite occasions" till he could send there an "officer of a superior grade to supply his place."

Captain Waterman had arrived at Bhagalpur at about 10 A.M. on 25th July 1855, with 300 men under his command ; Lieutenant Colonel Liptrap with 250 rank and file of the 42 Regiment N. I. reached there by steamer in the morning of the 29th July, and the remainder of the 13th Regiment N. I. (about 350 men) also came in the afternoon of that day under the command of Major Bruere. (100) On their arrival the Commissioner immediately arranged with Lt.-Col. Liptrap that 250 rank and file of the 13th Regiment N. I. should proceed to Rajmahal in the steamer 'Lady Hackwell' and that he would "take command of the troops in this (Bhagalpur) district (towards Colgong). Major Burroughs was to return to Bhagalpur with Hill Rangers

(95) Ibid.

(96) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 26th July, 1855, 9 p.m.

(97) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the officer Commanding Head quarters of the 13th Regiment N. I. (then expected at Bhagalpur), dated 28th July, 1855.

(98) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 28th July 1855, 10 p.m. para. 6.

(99) Ibid.

(100) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Officer Commanding Head quarters of the 13th Regiment N. I. (then expected at Bhagalpur), dated 28th July, 1855.

whose place would be occupied by the troops of the line. (101) Being unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Richardson had then been placed at Rajmahal, the Commissioner could not give him "definite instructions regarding the direction in which the troops would proceed" after joining him,—whether towards Sakrigali or towards Pakur or into the heart of the Damin.. (102) The Commissioner was making "every effort to obtain more elephants", (103) and on 30th July, he wrote to the Magistrates of Tirhut, Purneah, Mongyr and the Deputy Magistrates of Kishanganj and Madhipura for sending all the elephants they could collect.

By the end of July, Major General Lloyd arrived at Bhagalpur and took upon himself the disposition of the Troops". (104) While given absolute powers over the movements of the military, Major General Lloyd remained subject to the authority of the civil power for non-military affairs. Nevertheless, the military commanders proceeded with strong measures in different directions. Major Shuckburgh made "another successful raid against the Santhals and destroyed a good deal of property, but the insurgents fled at the approach of the Troops, instead of standing their ground, he could not (in the absence of cavalry) get near enough to attack these persons with any effect". (105) Major Burroughs at last pushed on his party towards Pyalapore and attacked some of the Santhal villages. (106) Major General Lloyd left Bhagalpur for Rajmahal in the morning of 2nd August, 1855. (107) Early in the morning of 29th July, Captain Sherwill and 150 Sepoys of the 40th Regiment N. I. under the Command of Lieutenant Cahil made 'a very successful' tour (in a N. -E. direction from the camp at Dighee) during which they destroyed 12 Santhal villages 'full of plunders'; at Balbadda they saw the indigo factory "which had been burnt by the Santhals still smouldering"; at Chora the Santhals were "armed and apparently ready for action" but they fled into the jungle at the approach of the troops so that "very few of the insurgents were gone wounded". (108) The party, however, "succeeded in securing a large supply of grain for the use of the Troops and the poor starving villagers who accompanied them and in capturing a great quantity of loot (plundered property) chiefly in the shape of brass vessels and upwards a thousand head of cattle besides goats and sheep." They also caught hold of one Ganpat Gawala, who was the "head spy and guide of the Santhals in those parts and destroyed his residence consisting of 8 houses full of loot (plundered articles); among other things English chairs, a saddle, a lady's

(101) Letter from the Commissioner to Mr. Richardson, Magistrate of Bhagalpur at Rajmahal, dated 29th July, 1855.

(102) Letter from the Commissioner to Mr. Richardson, Magistrate of Bhagalpur at Rajmahal, dated 29th July, 1855.

(103) Ibid.

(104) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 31st July, 1855.

(105) Ibid, para. 2.

(106) Ibid, para. 3.

(107) Ibid, dated 6th August, 1855.

(108) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 3rd August, 1855.

looking glass besides immense quantities of grain and good native cloths". (109) Captain Sherwill's "able assistance" was of great help to Major Shuckburgh's party but he was soon summoned by Major General Lloyd to join his staff at Rajmahal. (110)

Major Burroughs left Pyalapore on 29th July, 1855, for Bhuggya (6½ miles S.-E. from Pyalapore) and met with no opposition from the insurgents, even "when small parties of 75 and 100 were sent against them." (111) He was without any civil authority with him because the Faujdari Nazir who had been selected for that task could not reach Pyalapore before the former's departure from that place. (112) In the afternoon of 29th July, Major Burroughs sent a detachment of 75 rank and file under Lieutenant Gordon to destroy the Santhal villages of Kunhan and Munukatro situated to the west of his position and in the morning of the following day he deputed Lieutenant Rubie with 100 men "who made a detour to the North-West and destroyed the villages of Bugayah, Titereah, Buskudar, Rangokitta, Hurrialiah, Kamuldeh and Bochai." (113) But Major Burroughs being relieved by Captain Waterman left for Bhagalpur and on his way reached Colgong on the 6th August. (114) Major Shuckburgh's party moved on from Dighee to Bissoshura (4 miles eastward) on 1st August, and after having properly arranged his camp, he sent Lieutenant Burn with 50 men to destroy a Santhal village in the neighbourhood. (115) Lieutenant Burn had not gone for a half an hour when he was attacked by about 600 Santhals, "who were however routed being six dead on the ground. (116) Major Shuckburgh then started on 2nd August in a south-eastern direction to Deadeh and then north-east through Khonerah and round the hill to Lohundea "destroying 15 Santthal villages by the way and clearing that part of the country of the rebels". (117) He wrote earnestly for more elephants without which as he said, he could "scarcely move". (118)

In the meanwhile, the detachment accompanying the Magistrate of Murshidabad had pursued the insurgents into the Hills, inflicted a defeat on Chand and Kanhu with their followers at Raghunathpur (on Barahrwa—Barhait road) and had "burnt Bhugnadee and taken possession of Barhait, the stronghold of the insurgents" (119) on 24th July.. A party of the Santhals wandered about the Luchmipore and Dhuldulee hills but the main body of the insurgents proceeded to the south-west of the district towards Pusoye and

(109) Ibid

(110) Ibid, para. 3.

(111) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 3rd August, 1855, para. 4.

(112) Ibid.

(113) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to M. G. Lloyd at Rajmahal, dated 6th August, 1855.

(114) Ibid.

(115) Ibid, para. 4.

(116) Ibid, para. 4.

(117) Ibid.

(118) Ibid.

(119) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 3rd August, 1855, para. 5.

Nohihat (on the Dumka-Godda road) and the movement extended still further westward. (120) The Commissioner of Bhagalpur, therefore, thought it advisable that more troops should then be sent towards the south and the southwest of Bhagalpur (121) in support of the detachment under Captain Francis, (122) who could not move from Baunsi on the 30th and 31st July because of heavy rains "which completely saturated everything". (123) At 4 p.m. on 1st August Captain Francis' party reached the vicinity of Choona Kotee (Chunakuthi); it was about sunset when they came upon the rebels, "who advanced boldly to the attack sounding drums and performing extravagant gestures". (124) Captain Francis opened fire and killed and wounded about 15 of them; on his side two men were slightly wounded. Due to the approach of night and also being ignorant of the exact position of Choona Kotee, Captain Francis thought it advisable to return to his camp. (125) Early in the morning of 2nd August the attack was renewed but the rebels beat a retreat, and when Captain Francis reached Choona Kotee at about 7 a.m. he "found it evacuated but full of plunder of all descriptions". (126) Having burnt the place the party intended to proceed to Barkope. Captain Francis had left the magazine and his heavy baggage at Baunsi under the charge of a guard of 40 men; the insurgents fell upon them on 3rd August but were repulsed "with the loss of seven of their number killed". (127) It should be noted here that Mr. W. J. Morey had come down from Mongyr and had joined Captain Francis. (128)

Major General Lloyd returned to Bhagalpur from Rajmahal in the morning of 11th August (129) and Mr. H. E. Richardson was then at Bhugnadee, or at Barhait. (130) Mr. Vigors, a Railway Engineer, and some of his companions rendered valuable services for the defence of Rajmahal. (131) Captain Waterman who had succeeded Major Burroughs in the command of the detachment at Pylapore, lately at Bhuggya, was expected to join Major Shuckburgh, who had been engaged in clearing the country of the insurgents in the vicinity of Lohundea (on the road from Dighee to Borio), enabling him thereby to "renew his attack on the insurgents reported to have assembled in large numbers immediately on the borders of the Damin-i-koh to the East of

(120) Ibid.

(121) Ibid.

(122) Ibid.

(123) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to M. G. Lloyd at Rajmahal, dated 6th August, 1855, para. 5.

(124) Ibid.

(125) Ibid.

(126) Ibid.

(127) Ibid.

(128) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 6th August, 1855.

(129) Ibid, dated 11th August, 1855, para. 2.

(130) Ibid, para. 3.

(131) Calcutta Review, 1856, and 1860.

Codda". (132) A detachment of 194 rank and file of the 42 Regiment with complement of Indian commissioned and non-commissioned officers and two European officers marched from Bhagalpur in the morning of 11th August to reinforce Captain Francis, who was then expected "to co-operate with Major Shuckburgh in the contemplated attack on the Santhals but in an opposite direction." (133)

III.

The Birbhum side of the country still remained disturbed. By the 20th of July Mithijanpore and Narainpore had been plundered; (134) on 21st a party of the insurgents was opposed at Katmah by the Sardar Ghatwal of Kajoorea, a few other Ghatwals and some Bengalees (135), and by the 23rd "the large town of Gunpore" and many other villages were destroyed (136). The insurgents then plundered Nagore. Lieutenant Toulmain was killed "in an unadvised attack upon a superior force posted on the opposite side of a nullah" (136a) but Lieutenant Delamaine of the 56th N. I. was successful against the insurgents at Nungolea (i. e. Langulia) (137). The insurgents being driven from their positions at Afzalpur, Nagore and the Mohuneha Hill (then a Trigonometrical survey station) proceeded to Kumrabad (138).

It appears that for sometime since the close of July, the relations between the Bengal Government and Mr. Brown, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, grew strained owing to the former's disapproval of the measures adopted by the latter for the suppression of the insurrection. The Bengal Government did not approve of the Commissioner's plan of offering high rewards for capturing the leaders of the insurrection. But the latter defended his own conduct as follows (139):—"In fixing the amount of the rewards so large I had regard not only to the enormity of the offence and to the fearful loss of life and property which the insurrection was occasioning but also to the numerous loss of revenue and the immense cost to which Government would be put in the march of troops etc and I calculate that the apprehension of the chiefs would in comparison be cheaply purchased for the sums I named or even double." Since the commencement of the insurrection, besides the Santhals, a large number of non-Santhals like *gowalas* (milkmen), *telis* (oilmen), *lohars* (blacksmiths) and *bhnuyas* had been sent to Bhagalpur by the Police, who "found them with arms in their hands unlawfully assembling for the purpose of committing riot

(132) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 11th August, 1855, para. 5.

(133) Ibid, para. 6.

(134) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(135) Ibid.

(136) Ibid.

(136a) Ibid.

(137) Ibid.

(138) Ibid.

(139) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 31st July, 1855, para. 4.

or pillage" (140). The Commissioner of Bhagalpur thought that those people should be tried quickly by the officer in charge of the Magistrate's office instead of being detained "for any considerable length of time in Hajat" (141) but he entertained "grave doubts" as to whether they could be tried "with advantage to the provisions of the Act V of 1841" (142). In his opinion the provisions of that Act applied only to (143) "Treason, Rebellion and other crimes against the State" and these could not be put into force till the Government had appointed a Commissioner for that purpose, while he regarded the cases alluded to as "single attempts to commit riot and plunder" (145). On 2nd August, he solicited the opinion of the Judge of Bhagalpur in this matter but the latter did not approve of the Magistrate's disposing of any of those cases.

On the 6th of August, 1885, he wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal soliciting his permission for the appointment of a sufficient number of civil officers (owing to their lack) "to act in a civil capacity with each Detachment in the field"; he also requested the Government for early orders about the trial of persons "who had been seized and sent in charged with being concerned in the present insurrection." But the Lieutenant Governor had formed an unfavourable opinion about his conduct (146) in connection with the insurrection, and Mr. A. C. Bidwell, Commissioner of the Nuddea Division, was appointed a "special Commissioner for conducting under the orders of this (Bengal) Government the measures necessary for the entire suppression of the insurrection which has broken out among the Santhal population and for restoring tranquillity to the disturbed districts" (147).

The Hon'ble Mr. A. Eden was appointed as Mr. A. C. Bidwell's first assistant with the powers of a Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector and Mr. Barnes another assistant as a Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector; Mr. Pontent was also asked to consider himself under his immediate orders during his special appointment in connection with the insurrection in the Damin-i-koh.

The troops engaged against the insurgents were sometimes supplied with funds by the English indigo planters (148). Many of the Zamindars in the Bhagalpur and neighbouring districts lent elephants for service with the different detachments posted over the country; they expressed their willingness "to receive no hire" but preferred to "lend them to the Government, only

(140) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Judge of Bhagalpur, dated 21st July, 1855.

(141) *Ibid.*, para. 2.

(142) *Ibid.*

(143) *Ibid.*

(144) *Ibid.*

(145) *Ibid.*

(146) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 10th August, 1855.

(147) Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 1868), dated 6th August 1855, para. 1.

(148) Letter from the Commissioner of Burdwan to the Officiating Collector of Birbhum, dated 27th September, 1855, para. 2.

desiring that they should be well fed and taken care of during the period of their employment by Government" (149); and His Highness the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad lent a train of elephants for which he insisted on defraying all expenses by himself (150).

Thus, all these energetic efforts from different quarters,—the troops, the zamindars, and the planters,—compelled the insurgents to leave the plains by the middle of August, "though the numbers in open arms were still estimated to exceed 30000 men" (151).

On the 17th of August a proclamation was issued offering pardon to all except the ringleaders and those who had been guilty of committing murders, arson, and other foul deeds.

But Sir Frederick Halliday rightly apprehended that the Santhals had retired "without any signs of General submission" (152). He became very anxious for the future safety and defence of the affected area as is clear from the following paragraphs of his minute, dated 12th September, 1855:—

"Since that time there have been appearances of renewed outbreak, and I append to this minute extracts of letters just received from Messrs Bidwell and Ward, and a copy of a letter written to Mr. Nelson the contractor by one of his agents near Rajmahal which seem to show that on three sides of the Hills the Santhals are likely to take advantage of the enforced and unavoidable inactivity of the troops to renew the attacks on the inhabitants of the open country.

It is necessary to keep up the communications between the several military posts, especially along the line of Railway works. This is at present interrupted by deep and difficult Nullahs and by the absence of almost all that can be called roads.

With the aid of the contractors on the line who are very willing to assist in the business the Nullahs might be roughly bridged and the roads made fairly passable at a comparatively small expense and I would call on Messrs Nelson and Co. to state at what expense per mile they are willing to undertake the work.

Great convenience would result to the present operations and more especially to those, which it appears too probable that we shall have to carry on with renewed vigour next cold season against the Santhals, if the Electric Telegraph now established between Calcutta and Murshidabad were prolonged to Bhagalpur General Lloyds' Head Quarters. On the 24th ultimo I strongly recommended to the Government of India that there should be established a line of Electric Telegraph communication between Calcutta and Patna via Sherghatty. In reply on the 7th instant the Govt. of India has expressed

(149) Letter from the Special Commissioner for suppressing the Santhal Insurrection to Captain R. D. Macdonald, dated Berhampur, the 21st August, 1855.

(150) *Ibid*, para. 7.

(151) *Calcutta Review*, 1856.

(152) Lieutenant Governor's Minute, dated 12 September, 1855, para. 1, *vide* Appendix No. "H".

doubts as to the necessity of incurring the expense of such a line seeing that the Railway Telegraph will ultimately (i.e. four or five years hence) pass through Patna and will be passed by an Electric Telegraph."

A copy of this minute was sent on 14th September, 1885 to Mr. A. C. Bidwell, who expressed his own ideas on different points, through his letter to the Bengal Govt. dated 22nd September 1855.

As a matter of fact, the insurgents set at defiance the proclamation of pardon and the insurrection broke out again in full fury within a month. A party of about 3000 of the Raksadangal Santhals, led by Mocheea Kosnjola, Rama and Soondra Majhis encamped near Operbandah in the evening of 16th September, and on the next day plundered and burnt the thana and village. A gang of 5000 to 7000 Santhals under Seeroo Majhi, who had taken Sooleah Thakur along with them at Teelabooney, had "strengthened their position by earthworks, and dug tanks there." They also made preparations for celebrating the Durga Puja festival, for which purpose they had "carried off and detained two Brahmins from one of the villages plundered by them in Thannah Nangoolea". They waited for effecting a junction with the Raksadangal gang before they attacked Suri; but according to their usual practice they had given intimation of their intended attack on Suri by sending there, through one of the Deoghur dak runners, what was called in their language a '*dahra*' or missive,—viz "a twig of the sal tree with three leaves on it, each leaf signifying a day that is to elapse before their arrival" (153). One Daroo Mahji, son of Fagu Majhi of Jagadisipur under Thana Langulia in Birbhum, plundered the village of Banskuli in Birbhum by inflicting injuries on Petambar Mandal and others on 5th Sraban, 1262 B.S. at 1-30 p.m. (254) In the month of Kartik 1262 B.S. (October 1855) Sindhu, Kanhu, Chand, Bhairab with about 200 Santhals plundered Mauja Amba Harna in Tappa Belpatta of the Bhagalpur District and murdered three Bengalees there (155). Disturbances took place also at Jaypore, Kadra, Noni and other places in southern Bhagalpur (156).

Additional measures for the suppression of the insurrection had been sanctioned by the Government from time to time. The Government of India gave its consent to the plans of the temporary employment from 14th July, 1855, of an extra police force at a cost of Rs. 723 per month, the establishment of a temporary police *paharas* (watchmen) at Nagore and Durbrajpur in Birbhum at a cost of Rs. 78/- per month (157), and to the temporary entertain-

(153) All these facts have been collected from the letter of the Magistrate of Birbhum to the Commissioner of Burdwan Division, dated 24th September, 1855.

(154) A copy of the proceedings of the case of Daru Majhi who was made over on 14th December, 1855, to take his trial in the Sessions Court of Birbhum is preserved in the Record office of the Deputy Commissioner of Santhal Parganas. It may be noted here that Captain Haliday laid his camp near Bankshall, vide Letter from Captain Haliday to A. R. Thomson, Acting Magistrate of Birbhum, dated 9th October, 1855.

(155) Vide Appendix.

(156) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(157) Letter from the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the officiating Commissioner of Burdwan, dated 25th September, 1855; and Proceedings of the Government of India's Financial Department, No. 3541, dated 6th September, 1855.

ment from 24th September 1855, of the *barkandaz* force formed by Mr. Ward, when he was on special duty at Ranigang (158). Eventually however the difficulty of co-ordinating civil and military authorities and signs of increasing friction between them led to the proclamation of martial law in the following terms.

"It is hereby proclaimed and notified, that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in the exercise of the authority given to him by Regulation X of 1804, and with the assent and concurrence of the President in Council, does hereby establish Martial Law in the following districts, that is to say :—so much of the district of Bhagalpur as lies on the right bank of the river Ganges ; so much of the district of Murshidabad as lies on the right bank of the river Bhagirathi ; the district of Birbhum."

The proclamation of Martial Law encouraged the troops, stationed in different parts of the disturbed areas, to proceed vigorously with the work of chastising the Santhal insurgents ; they had no longer to suffer from the inclemency of the rainy season but the winter gave them a more suitable weather for active military operations. A number of outposts, sometimes consisting of twelve to fourteen thousand men, drove the insurgents from the open country (159). The Government suspended the operation of martial law on 3rd January 1856 (160). Kanhoo was captured towards the end of February 1856 (161), near Operbandha, north-east of Jamtara, by the Sardar ghatwal of Kunjra (162) and was soon executed ; a few other ring-leaders shared the same fate.

Even after the suspension of Martial Law certain parts of the country continued to be disturbed by outrages for about three months more. Within a fortnight from the 3rd of January, 1856, fresh outrages were committed in the neighbourhood of Jaipur and in the Mongyr border by fugitive Santhals from the south under the leadership of Saeb Shah ; they abstained "from violence to human life and limb" but they plundered the European factory at Sangrampore after sending manifestoes to the Government on the 12th and 13th of January, 1856 (163). About the 14th of February, 1856, the daroga of thana Dighee reported to Mr. W. C. Taylor, an assistant Commissioner of Santhal Parganas, stationed at Sreekund (near Tinpahar), that about 6000 or 7000 'armed Santhals' had gathered at Sorlah Pahar under Bijrit Purganaite and Chortrea Nazir. The Daroga further reported that, on 14th February, one of Mr. Potent's *piyadas* went to a place called Baramasia (near Barhait) to collect rents, when he was opposed by about 25 armed Santhals, who had been 'dressed in Red Saloo Pagrees (turbans) and had on white Lungies

(158) Letter from the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the officiating Magistrate Birbhum, dated 12 January, 1856.

(159) Letter from Brigadier L. S. Bird, commanding the Birbhum and Bancorah frontier force, to the Collector of Birbhum, dated 10th December, 1855.

(160) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(161) Letter from W. C. Taylor to A. R. Thompson, dated Sreekoond, 20th February, 1856.

(162) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(163) Calcutta Review, 1856.

and long white Dhooties"; these Santhals declared before him:—"The Ind (?) Sahib has excused the rents for this year and if you say another word, we will kill you. They also said to one another: "Let us go and seize the Daroga of Deghee and take him off to the Ind Sahib". At this the Daroga of the said thana wrote most urgently to Mr. W. C. Taylor for military aid, and the latter requested Major Gaussen, Commanding 42nd Regiment at Barhait, to "send what he considered a sufficient force to the scene of disturbance with as little delay as possible". Mr. Portent, who was then present near Major Gaussen, doubted the accuracy of the daroga's report but thinking it necessary to make enquiries he proceeded to Borio on the morning of 16th February with one Subadar, 2 Havildars, 2 Naiks and 50 sepoys. On reaching Sorlah Pahar (164) Mr. Pontent could "find no traces of the 6 or 7000 insurgents which he said, was all a myth of the Daro-gah's (165). Mr. W. C. Taylor requested Major Gaussen "to station a detachment of his men" at Borio till the counrry was "in a more settled state" (166) and Mr. Pontent's party remained at Borio for a few days before rejoining Major Gaussen's detachment at Barhait on 24th February, 1856. Lieutenant Campbell, Commanding at Sreekoond, also detached 40 men for guarding the railway officials at Seetapahar, lying about 8 miles north of Sreekoond (167). Mr. Taylor also suggested to the Deputy Commissioner at Dumka "the propriety of applying to Government for a detachment of at least 100 men to be established at Hiranpore, as at present there is no guard at Pakur the headquarters of this division of the Railway and a place where there is always a large sum of money. Heeranpore would command Pakour and the whole of Umber which is entirely Santhalee and the portions of Umber and Kankjole lying to the west of Heeranpore in the Damin-i-koh and round about Mohul Bunnar contain almost all the bad characters in this part of the country" (168). At the same time the Deputy Commissioner of Santhal Parganas caused a number of proclamations to be distributed throughout the district "prohibiting persons in the Damin-i-koh from having arms in their possession without a license from the Deputy or Assistant Commissioner" (169).

It should be mentioned here that Captain Sismore, the officiating Principal assistant to the Commissioner of Chotanagpur stationed at Hazaribagh, reported on 2nd March, 1856 by Electric Telegraph message (170) to Mr. W. C. Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal that "in consequence of a large

(164) Letter from Major Gaussen to Captain B. Parrot at Suri, dated 13th February, 1856.

Letter from W. C. Taylor, assistant Commissioner, Santhal Parganas, dated 16th February, 1856, to A. R. Thompson, Deputy Commissioner, Naya Dumka, paras. 6, 7, 8.

(165) Letter from Major Gaussen to Captain B. Parrot, dated 13th February, 1856.

(166) Letter from Mr. W. C. Taylor to the Deputy Commissioner, Naya Dumka, dated 16th February, 1856.

(167) Ibid, para. 10.

(168) Ibid, para. 11.

(169) Ibid, para. 4.

(170) Letter from W. Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Brigadier L. S. Bird, dated 3rd March, 1856.

marauding parties of Santhals from the district of Birbhum having plundered several Mahajans near Serampore in Pergunnah Kurruckdea" (177) on 21st and 22nd February, he had detained a company of the 37th Native Infantry for duty in that paragona, "the police force having been inadequate to prevent a recurrence of similar outrages" (172). Captain Sismore was directed by the Lieutenant Governor to "keep himself in communication" (173) with Brigadier L. S. Bird and with the Deputy Commissioner of the Santhal Paraganas. The 37th Regiment N. I. could not send any detachment into Kurruckdea (174) and so Captain Sismore had to wait for the arrival of the 8th Regiment N. I. which having reached Burdwan on 26th February had started for Dinapor on 27th February and was near Kurruckdea at that time (175). From these point however disturbances and panic subsided.

IV.

The insurrection cannot be regarded as a mere local rising of no importance. For more than six months it remained as a menace to the Government, the zamindars and the people. It is clear from the details that have been narrated that its suppression taxed the energies of the troops as well as of the Government officers at different centres like Calcutta, Berhampur, Suri, Raniganj, Deoghar, Bhagalpur, Purneah, Mongyr, Barh and Patna. The zamindars of different localities also co-operated in many ways with the Government. The insurrection further caused terrible losses in men and money and affected the revenues of the Government (176).

But good sometimes comes out of evil. This episode opened a new chapter in the history of the Bhagalpur district. It convinced the Government of the necessity of taking prompt measures for bringing the Santhali areas under effective administrative control. A ruler of Bengal cannot very well neglect the proper defence and administration of the area covered by the Rajmahal hills because of their strategic and geographical importance, and the Santhal insurrection made the East India Company, then engaged in consolidating its hold on India, realise this fact fully. Act 37 of 1885 created the Santhali areas into a separate non-regulation district to be called by the general designation of the Santhal Paraganas. This district being placed under the control of the Commissioner of Bhagalpur as the Commissioner of the Santhal paragonas was divided into five jurisdictions (177). The five jurisdictions were to be administered respectively by the Deputy Commissioner and four uncovenanted servants to be called assistant Commissioners ; there was to be

(171) Ibid. Now in the Deoghur Sub-division.

(172) Ibid.

(173) Ibid.

(174) Letter from N. W. Spottiswood, Commanding 37th Regiment N. I., to E. Sismore, dated 3rd March, 1856.

(175) Ibid.

(176) Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 253.

(177) Letter from Mr. W. Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Mr. H. Stairforth, Commissioner of Bhagalpur, dated 7th January, 1856, Vide Appendix E.

a sub-assistant Commissioner in each division (178). The Hon'ble Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. Eden, who had been Assistant to the special Commissioner for the suppression of the Santhal Paraganas, was appointed the Deputy Commissioner. There was to be a Sub-assistant Surgeon at the head-quarters of the Deputy Commissioner and a native doctor at the head quarters of each Asst. Coccissioner (179). Mr. W. C. Taylor was appointed an Assistant Commissioner of that part of the district which extended as far as Rajmahal and Barhait, his headquarters being fixed at Sreekoond (in Kankjole paragona under Rajmahal sub-division) ; Mr. J. M. G. Cheek of Bankura was appointed an Assistant Commissioner. Mr. Browne Wood, Superintendent of Salt Chowkies, Jalasore Division, Contai, was also appointed an Assistant Commissioner and Mr. R. E. Ronal of Tipperah was appointed another Assistant Commissioner. Mr. J. B. Shadwell of Cherapunji and Mr. R. G. Platts, Headmaster of Saran School, were appointed Sub-assistant Commissioners and Dr. R. Urquhart, F.R.C.S., joined his appointment as a medical officer in the district of Santhal Parganas. Mr. Eden having resigned his post, Mr. A. R. Thompson officiated in his place as Deputy Commissioner of Santhal Parganas.

The Government thus arranged for the effective administration of the newly formed district of Santhal Parganas. But the task before it was not an easy one, especially because it had to think of the different classes of people, such as the Santhals, the non-Santhals and the Paharias or hill-men.

The officers in charge of the newly-created district, however, did their best to settle the disturbed state of affairs. The Bengal Government sanctioned the establishment of grain depots at Baunsi, Deoghur and Naya Dumka and passed orders against the practice of the sepoys "wandering over the country in search of Russud (provision)" (180). Mr. W. C. Taylor tried during the middle of February, 1856, to bring about uniformity in weights by issuing parwanahs to the effect that if after the expiry of one month the banians and others were "found selling or buying anything by any other weight but that of 80 tolas to the seer—that they will be fined for the first offence Rs. 5/-, for the second offence Rs. 10/- and for the third Rs. 25/- (181). Improvements in general communications (roads, bridges, etc.) and in postal services were effected in different parts of the district (182).

One result of the Santhal Rebellion was the direction of missionary activities to the aboriginal races, in preference to the civilised people of the plains and towns of Bengal. From this time Chotanagpur and adjoining hill districts of Bengal became studded with missions. The political aspect of

(178) Letter from Mr. W. Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Mr. H. Stainforth, Commissioner of Bhagalpur, dated 7th January, 1856.

(179) *Ibid.*

(180) Letter from G. Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Brigadier L. S. Bird, Commg. Field Force, Soorie (Suri), dated February 15, 1856.

(181) Letter from W. C. Taylor to A. R. Thompson, dated Sreekoond, dated 20th February, 1856.

(182) Letter from Brigadier L. S. Bird to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Camp Soorie (Suri), dated 29th February, 1856.

this work is that rude tribes have been taught the value of British contact and civilisation and together with the policy of favourable and special treatment of aborigines and converted Christian aborigines, this has ever since made aboriginal discontent a very remote possibility. It is interesting to note that Indian reforming sects, as well as orthodox Hindus and Muslims, have also applied the instrument of conversion to the aborigines, following the example of the Europeans, the result being a continuous absorption of aborigines into Aryan-speaking-Hindu or Muslim communities.

KALIKINKAR DATTA.

Clive's Quarrel with the Dutch in 1759

(—Continued)

THE LONDON MAGAZINE FOR APRIL, 1762.

TO THE AUTHOR OF THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

In my last to you I prophesied, that the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in the memorial of the Dutch East-India Company, would soon be exposed to public view ; and that I can now congratulate my country upon that prophecy's being fulfilled by the Defence of our East-India company now published, in a more clear and convincing manner, than could have been expected in a conspiracy, which was formed and carried on by the servants of the Dutch company in the East Indies, with the utmost secrecy, and with all the cunning they could contrive, for giving their wicked design a fair and innocent appearance. I say, a wicked design ; for, had the plot succeeded, according to the wish and expectation of their people in that country, I think we have reason to believe, that the catastrophe would have been a second Amboyna, which might probably have produced a most cruel and destructive war between the two nations ; therefore the people in Holland have reason to rejoice, that their countrymen in the East-Indies did not succeed in their design, and ought to thank our people in that country, for the care they took of themselves, as well as for the generous use they made of their victories.

As the Defence of our East India company was drawn up by way of memorial to his majesty, it was made as concise as possible ; consequently, no abstract or abridgment could be made of it, without leaving out a great deal of matter, and many of the proofs, that are necessary for shewing the generosity as well as justice of our people, and the treacherous and hostile designs of the Dutch in the East-Indies ; therefore I shall only give the questions stated by our company in their defence, and in general what they have proved by way of answer. They begin with stating their two questions, viz., first, what was the real destination of the armament which left Batavia in June, 1759, part of which arrived in the Ganges the latter end of August, and the residue the beginning of October following ? and secondly, who were in fact the aggressors in the hostilities confessedly committed on both sides ? Upon the first of these questions they shew, that this armament was originally, really, and wholly designed for Bengal, though the Dutch government at Batavia gave out, and laboured to have it understood, that it was intended

for the coast of Coromandel. And they likewise shew, that our people in Bengal had information what was the real destination of the armament then preparing at Batavia, not only from common fame, but by letters from the English resident at Batavia, and by some threatening expressions dropped by some of the council belonging to the Dutch settlement in Bengal ; from whence both they and the nabob, or viceroy, of Bengal had good reason to prevent the landing of these Dutch troops in Bengal ; as the common talk, both at Batavia, and at the Dutch settlement at Bengal, was, that this armament was designed to force the nabob to agree to their demands, and to take satisfaction for the injuries they had received, having endured too long the insults of the Moors and English, the latter of whom were to have all their throats cut, as the people at Batavia expected, in case their armament should succeed.

Upon this information the nabob sent an order to the Dutch settlement in Bengal, expressly forbidding them to bring any troops into his country ; and they actually promised that they would not. But as the nabob could not depend upon that promise, he at the same time gave orders to stop and search every vessel coming up the Ganges, and if any troops should be found in them, to take these troops out, and send them back to the ships that had brought them to the mouth of that river ; and he called upon our people, as his allies, to assist him in the execution of these orders. Upon this our East-India company, in their defence, stated the two following questions. 1st, Whether the Dutch had a right to introduce any troops into that country without the Nabob's consent? And 2ndly, whether the English might, at the Nabob's request, assist to hinder them? And to answer these questions they show that the Dutch had no such right ; and that our people not only might, but were obliged, at the Nabob's request, to assist in hindering them. Accordingly, the Nabob's troops were joined by some of ours, and all vessels coming up the river were stopped and searched, but without any interruption to the trade and navigation, beside the momentarily delay necessary for searching ; for all merchandize was suffered to pass freely ; and even some of the Dutch vessels that were found to have troops concealed on board, contrary to the Nabob's order and their own promise, were let pass freely with their merchandize, after the troops were taken out, nor was there any harm done to the troops, except that of confining them till next morning, when they were conducted down the river, and landed as near the ship they came from, as the party escorting them could safely approach.

This is the only pretence the Dutch have for justifying the open hostilities they afterwards committed against us, and which they now avow ; but every one must see, and our company have clearly shewn, that their attempting to land any troops in Bengal, after the Nabob had expressly prohibited their so doing, was a most unjust aggression against him, and we, as his allies, were obliged to assist him in repelling it, even though we had not any thing to apprehend on our own account. Whereas we had great reason to apprehend, that the introduction of these troops, as well as of the great numbers they afterwards landed, was chiefly designed against our settlement in that country ; for our company have shewn that they had no foundation for

a complaint against the Nabob, unless it was his refusing to comply with the terms of their petition presented to him in 1757, the ninth article is very remarkable, being in the words following :

IX. "If you will grant us an order, we will fortify our factory, that in future no one may oppress us, *as the English have at this time done*. God forbid it, and that we may be able to defend ourselves when attacked."

What is mentioned by the oppression here mentioned no one can comprehend, for our company have, in their defence, fully answered every complaint they have made against the conduct of our people in the East Indies, both before and after that time ; and have shewn that instead of being guilty of any acts of oppression towards them, our people have always acted a friendly part, as often as was in their power ; and that the Dutch have often taken advantage of their friendship to act a treacherous part towards them.

To give even an extract of all these particular instances would take up too much room in your magazine ; and therefore I shall recommend the reading of the defence itself, to every man who desires to see the honour of his country vindicated in the clearest, and at the same time in the most concise manner. But I cannot conclude without taking notice of one fact, to show how little we can depend upon the truth of any one fact set forth by the Dutch in their account of the late hostilities in Bengal. In their account, page 23, they say, that all the men on board their ships, that were defeated by us in the river Ganges, did not make 200. To this our company modestly answer thus : "We as a company, associated for the purposes of trade are very little ambitious of military wreaths : on the contrary, we have reason to be sorry that our servants should ever had opportunities to gather them. But the justice we owe to their merit of this kind, which discovered itself on that occasion, in answer to what the Dutch company alleged on that head, and this is, that the number of prisoners, in the case of the naval engagement, nearly doubled that which the gentlemen represent as the whole number at the beginning of the action.

April 22, 1762

I am,

Sir, your, &c.

P.S. *Be pleased to correct the following errata in my last, page 60 col. 2, line 4, for vizer, r. viceroy ; for provinces r. province ; line 18, for give r. gave ; p. 62, col. 1, line 27, from bottom, for directed, r. directly.*

S. L. HOBES.

TO THE AUTHOR OF THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

Ecce iterum Crispinus !

It might have been expected, that the Dutch East India company would have waited to see the reply of our East India company, before they had

again attempted to disturb the harmony subsisting between their highmities, the states general, and his majesty the king of Great Britain, which is so necessary for the good of both nations, and I will say, absolutely necessary for the existence of their republic, the preservation of which, as well as its first establishment, has been owing to a profusion of the blood and treasure of Great Britain. If they had done this, they would have seen that, they could not depend, for the truth of the facts, upon any representation from their servants in India, and consequently would not have exhibited a new complaint before a proper inquiry had been made into the truth of what was represented. But instead of taking this cautious and prudential part, they have exhibited a fresh complaint to the states of Holland, and West Friesland, and have got it printed and published in Holland, in which, after reciting what had been done upon their former complaint, they proceed thus :

"Things continued thus, at home, in the same state ; but in India, they proceeded, meanwhile, from bad to worse : For in Bengal, the company was obliged to pay, once and again, very considerable sums of money to the Moors, who, depending on the aid and assistance of their friends and allies, the servants of the English East India company, and apprized of our inability to maintain our rights and privileges and to secure the company's settlements, rapaciously availed themselves of these circumstances, in order, as well as from their own natural temper, as at the instigation of others, to extort, from time to time, large sums of money, from the Dutch company.

The director and council at Hughley had flattered themselves, that after the convention, which they were constrained to enter into, on the 3rd December 1759, with the servants of the English company, and on the 5th ditto with the then Nabob, the Dutch company should have enjoyed in full quiet, their settlements in Bengal, and been able to carry on their commerce undisturbed, without being exposed to new extortions, or violent exactions. *But it soon appeared, that the two extorted conventions were not yet sufficient to answer the desired intention.* For these reasons, therefore, it was resolved still more to crush the Dutch company, and deprive them entirely of their yet remaining, though feeble, means of security. For that purpose, Kasim Cham, one of the Nabob's commanders, appeared as early as the 11th of February after, with a great army, before the company's fort Gustavus ; invests it, and cut off all provisions from the company's servants. The pretext for these acts of violence was, that the Nabob had discovered by an intercepted letter, said to be furnished him by the English, that the company's servants had rendered and promised their assistance to the Moghul prince, who was in full March against the said Nabob. Kasim Cham afterwards gave orders, that all the outworks of the fort should be razed, threatening, if they were not, to order his own men to do it ; and at the same time demanded, by way of penalty or fine, and to indemnify him for the trouble he had been at, a considerable sum of money.

The pretext was a mere fiction, void of all appearance of truth. The company's servants themselves shewed Kasim Cham the falseness of the charge and made him sensible of the injustice of his demand : But all to no purpose. They were obliged to raze the out-works of the fort and to buy off further acts of violence by paying him 50,000 florins.

But this was only a fore-runner of what the company had farther to apprehend : For in the month of April thereafter, the company's servants were accused of levying men by the Nabob, who sent for the head man, or chief, at Cossimbazar ; but he being unable thro' indisposition to go to court, de Wilde, the second, repaired thither. The Nabob, on admitting him into his presence, adding that the company's servants held a correspondence and conspired with his enemies ; and on this account demanded of the company, by way of contribution, an immense sum of fifty Laks of Rupees, or two and twenty tons and a half of Gold ; threatening, if this sum was not immediately paid, to level with the ground the company's settlements. The one as well as the other accusation was false, and only devised to supply the Nabob's want of money at the expence of the company. De Wilde therefore did not neglect shewing the falshood of these charges : He proved that the few Seapoys, who were in the company's service, were taken into pay, in order to secure the company's effects against the inroads of the Maratas ; and that, had it not been for this unexpected investment of the company's factory, the natives would have been ere then discharged, and the rest sent back to Hughley. He moreover, employed every argument possible, to convince the Nabob of the injustice of his conduct, and to divert him from his unreasonable demand : But he was scarce favoured with a hearing, and was himself put under arrest. The Nabob thereupon caused the company's factory at Cossimbazar to be invested by his troops, and planted eleven pieces of cannon before it : Every imaginable preparation was made for executing the threatened destruction of the company's factory ; and the actual execution thereof could not be warded off, but with payment of full seven and a half tons of gold, and under the pretext of discharging the above mentioned Seapoys and sending back the other troops to Hughley. On this foot the agreement was concluded, and the Nabob promised to retire with his troops. The company's servants satisfied to the full the contract on their part, but the Nabob did not perform his engagements. The factory remained still invested by his troops, and when the company's servants insisted on their withdrawing, this his high sentence was at length pronounced, *That it was not in the prince's breast, but in that of the English.* The English then were questioned about the reason of such conduct, as nothing had happened between them and the Dutch, which could give any rise or handle thereto. The answer was, *That they were informed the company's servants held a correspondence with their enemies That their design was to make head against them and the prince ; and that therefore it was natural, that they, the English, should prevent them therein.* The company's servants being conscious of the falseness of this accusation, endeavoured also to convince the English thereof, and to assure them, that the director and council at Hughley had not the least intention either to undertake or execute any hostilities against them : But all to no purpose ; the English continued inflexible, and the withdrawing of the troops could not be brought about, but under the promise, that commissioners should be sent to Calcutta, in order to terminate the standing differences with the English."

This contains the substance of their fresh complaint and considering how fully and how authentically it has been proved, by the defence of our East

India company, that every fact stated in their former complaint, was either absolutely false, or grossly misrepresented, it may appear unnecessary to take any notice of the facts mentioned in this ; but some people are so apt to give credit to whatever is boldly asserted, and to adhere obstinately to any opinion they have once formed, that, I think, we cannot be too early in shewing some reasons for doubting the facts stated in this new complaint. That this complaint will be proved by our East India company to be as groundless as the former, as soon as they have had time for a due inquiry, I do not in the least question, therefore I shall only make a few remarks upon the most material facts, as stated by the Dutch East India company : They first tell us, that the Moors, depending upon the assistance of the English, extorted large sums of money from them, at the instigation of others, meaning the English ; but this they assert, without offering the least reason for supposing, that it was at the instigation of the English, which they certainly ought to have done, and as certainly would have done, if they could have furnished, or even invented any such reason. On the contrary, from the moderate use our servants made of their victory in 1759, and, from their prevailing with the Nabob, at that time, not to drive the Dutch out of his country, we have reason to believe, that, had he resolved upon any unjust extortions, the English would have endeavoured to prevent his carrying any such design into execution.

Their next complaint is, that, under pretext of a discovery by an intercepted letter, said to be furnished by the English. The Nabob's general appeared on the 11th February 1760, before their Fort Gustavus, with a great army, and obliged them not only to raze their outworks, but to pay a fine of 50,000 florins. As to this complaint, if we consider the complaint of the Dutch towards Jaffir Aly Khan, ever since his advancement to the nabobship, we shall have reason to conclude that this was not a pretended, but a real discovery : and if the intercepted letter was furnished by the English, it was what they not only had a right, but were obliged to do, as they were obliged, by their defensive treaty not only to defend him when unjustly attacked, but to give him notice of any plot, conspiracy, or combination formed for attacking him. If the Dutch had been pleased to give us a copy of this intercepted letter, and to tell us by whom it was signed, and how intercepted, we might perhaps have seen, that it was absolutely impossible for them to shew the falsehood of this pretext ; and without their being made acquainted with these three particulars, they could not form any one argument for shewing this pretext to be false ; but they only assert, that it was a mere fiction : nay, they go further, they assert that they convinced the Nabob's general of the falsehood of the charge, and made him sensible of the injustice of his demand, without saying that he confessed either the conviction or the sensibility upon which they ground this assertion, I cannot comprehend, as Hudibras justly says,

For God has given man's breast no wind doors,

That one may see what's done within doors.

And upon his future conduct they cannot found any such assertion ; for he made them pay the money and demolish their outworks.

But the Nabob, it seems, was as little convinced, and as insensible as his general ; for, in their third complaint, they tell us, that in the April following,

the Nabob repeated this charge against them, adding, that the company's servants held a correspondence and conspired with his enemies, on which account he made them pay 200,000 l. Sterling, and promise to discharge the seapoys, and send back to Hughley the troops they had brought to Cossimbazar. Now it is highly probable that these seapoys were taken into Dutch pay, and the other troops brought from Hughley to Cossimbazar without the leave of the Nabob, contrary to the late treaty ; and, if we consider, that the Shah Zadda was at that very time preparing a numerous army to invade Bengal, and that Cossimbazar is very near Moscadabad, the capital of Bengal, it was natural for the Nabob to suspect that these troops were brought thither, with a design to join the powerful enemy that was preparing to march against him ; it was therefore not only prudent in him, but had a right to insist upon the dismissing of those troops ; and as he was put to a great expence in preparing an army for his defence, surely he had a right to call upon all those that enjoyed the protection of his government, and to assist him with their troops and money.

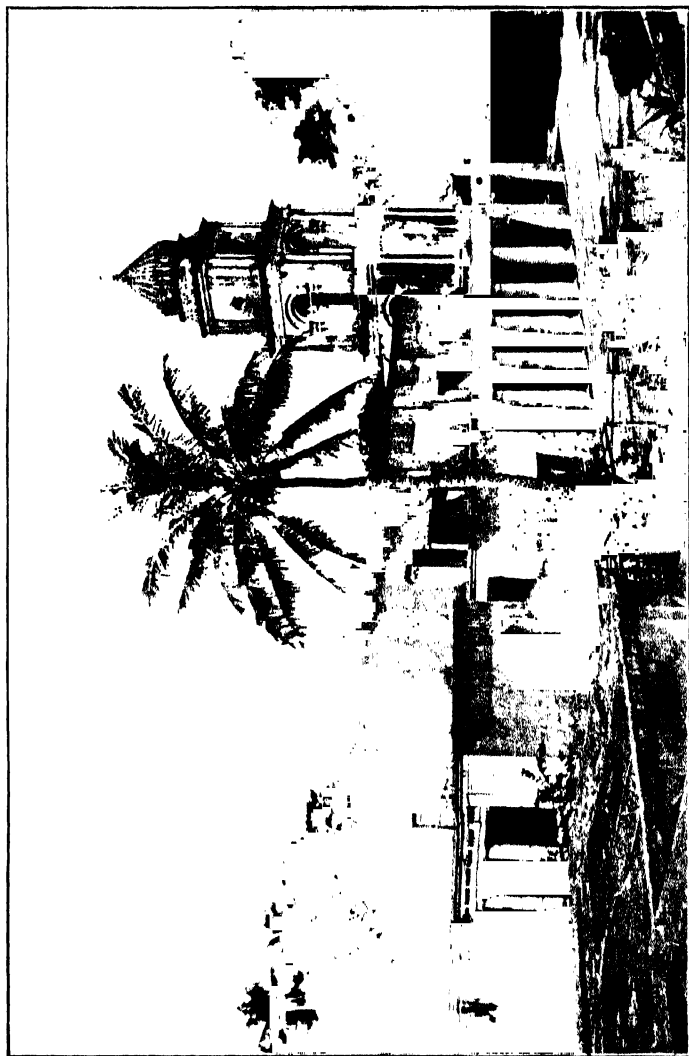
But, to this third complaint they have added what I may call a fourth, by saying that tho' they satisfied, to the full, the contract on their part, yet the withdrawing the moorish troops could not be brought about, but under the promise that commissioners should be sent to Calcutta, in order to terminate the standing differences with the English ; and what they give by way of proof of this assertion is really diverting : They give us the copy of a treaty soon after concluded between the Nabob and them, in which there is not one article, nor one word, relating to any difference between them and the English.

As to the other facts stated in this complaint I shall only in general observe, that there is not so much as one voucher submitted in proof of any of them. Some of them they have no just cause to complain of ; and as to all the rest, we have, from what has already passed, good reason to believe, that they will soon be made appear to be false, or deceitfully represented. What the Dutch East India company may expect from a Dutch mob, I do not know ; but surely they cannot expect that the governors of their republic will give credit to their bare assertions, or rather the bare assertions of their servants, in a case where the ambition of the company, and the interest of their servants is so deeply concerned. Upon the whole, the case between the Dutch and us in the East Indies, seems to be the same with that which was, of old, the case at Rome between Pompey Caesar : The former can bear no equal, and, I hope, we shall with Caesar, and with the same success, resolve to bear no superior.

May 21, 1762.

I am,
Sir,
Your's etc.,

H. HOBBS.



Armenian Church of St. John at Chinsurah, built in 1695

The Second Oldest Christian Church in Bengal.

THE glamour of the East and the rich and highly lucrative trade of India in spices, precious stones, muslins, calico, indigo, and other equally valuable articles, which the country produced, attracted the principal maritime nations of Europe to come and exploit the wealth of the country from the 15th century onwards.

That heaven-born, but unfortunate Spanish mariner, Colombus, whilst trying to reach India, discovered America instead.

The Portuguese under the famous Vasco de Gama were more fortunate, as they succeeded to reach India in 1498. They were followed by the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes who formed Settlements in India from the early part of the 17th Century.

The banks of the river Hughli in Bengal seem, however, to have had a special attraction for the early European traders, for we find important Settlements were formed and trading Factories planted by the Portuguese at Bandel, the English at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, the Danes at Serampore and the Dutch at Chinsurah. The latter who had traded with India prior to the advent of the English traders and were their powerful rivals in those days, showing as much energy in war as in trade, had formed, in 1625, an important commercial Settlement at Chinsurah, a suburb two miles to the south of the old city of Hooghly. In 1767, the Dutch Governor, G. Vernet, built a Church at Chinsurah entirely out of his own means. Prior to the erection of the Church, another Dutch Governor, Schiterman, had already erected the Steeple in 1744. This old Dutch Church is now being used by the English. It contains some interesting relics of the Dutch occupation in the shape of curious escutcheons of the early Dutch Governors and funeral hatchments which are hung round the Church. Chinsurah was ceded to the English by the Dutch in 1826, in exchange for Sumatra, after they had held it for two centuries (1625-1826).

The Armenians who were great traders and influential politicians in the halcyon days of Mogul supremacy had attached themselves to their confreres in trade, the Dutch, at Chinsurah, in the year 1645, under the leadership of the famous Margar family.

The Armenian Church at Chinsurah, which is the second *oldest* Christian Church in Bengal was erected by the pious and opulent Margar family. In 1695, Khojah Johanness, the son of Khojah Margar, laid the foundation of the Church which was completed, in 1697, by his brother Joseph, and

dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in memory of his deceased brother. Khojah Johanness Margar died suddenly, on the 27th day of November, 1697, and his mortal remains were interred inside the Church he had built. His revered grave can be seen to this day with a long inscription in classical Armenian verse, of which the following is a translation :—

“This is the tomb wherein lies interred the famous *garib* (stranger) Khojah Johanness, the son of Margar of Julfa, in the city of Shosh. He was an eminent merchant, honoured by Kings and respected by Governors. He was handsome and amiable and had travelled south, north, west and all the four quarters of the world. He died suddenly, on the 27th day of November, 1697, in the eastern part of the country, at the city of Hooghly, and delivered his soul into the hands of the angel and rested here in a strange land in solicitude of a home.

The end of the world will come, the cross of the East will dawn, the trumpet of Gabriel will be blown suddenly in the middle of the night, the judgment seat will be set up that the bridegroom may come and sit thereon and say, “come ye the blessed of the heavenly father”. And may He deem him [Khojah Johanness Margar] equally worthy, like the five wise virgins, to be in readiness to enter the sacred pavilion which only the righteous that are on the right, can inherit.

O ye who may come across this tomb pray for him earnestly and may God have mercy on your parents and on me, Reverend Gregory, who am a native of Erivan. Here endeth the inscription.” Below the long Armenian inscription, there are four lines in Portuguese, as follows :—

AQVI IAZ JOAO
MARCOS AR
MENIO DA NAS
SAO ANO.
1697.

It can be translated thus :—

“Here lies Joao Marcos, an Armenian by nationality, 1697.” There is however a glaring mistake in the Portuguese inscription, as the surname should have been “Margar” instead of “Marcos”, which is also an Armenian name.

In all likelihood, the inscription was composed by Rev. Gregory, hence his craving for the Lord’s mercy. Khojah Johanness Margar had an elder brother, Khojah Joseph by name, who died in 1704, at Julfa (Isfahan) his birthplace, and according to the quaint inscription on his tombstone, he was as famous and illustrious as his younger brother, Khojah Johanness, having traded in India, in partnership with his said brother, for a period of fifty years. The interesting inscription further tells us that he (Khojah Joseph Margar) had been an eminent merchant in India, the favourite of Kings, the friend of noblemen and grandees, the captain of his own ship and the benefactor of many people. From his will, of which I have a copy in my possession, it appears that the two brothers entered into partnership at Hyderabad (Deccan)



in 1666, and started business at Mylapore, with a joint capital of Rs. 27,550 only, the major portion of which (Rs. 18,00) was subscribed by Khojah Joseph Margar himself, whilst the younger brother, who lies buried at Chinsurah, laid out Rs. 9000/- only as his share in the business.

After the sudden death of Khojah Johanness Margar in November, 1697, when the partnership ceased automatically and the accounts were finally made up, it was found that a nett profit of two million rupees had been made in 30 years on a capital of Rs. 27500. Any wonder then that the two honest and industrious brothers were the favourites of Kings and of Governors all over India.

From the Will of Khojah Joseph Margar, alluded to above, it appears that the sum of Rs. 20,000 was expended by his younger brother, Khojah Johanness, in building the Armenian Church at Chinsurah (1) in 1695. These two eminent Armenian merchants were the sons of the illustrious merchant—diplomat, Margar Avag Sheenentz, known as Marcara Avanchinz who played an important part in the inauguration of the "French East India Company" in India in the second-half of the 17th century. It is stated in Dr. Nolan's "History of the British Empire in India and the East" that on the inauguration of the "French East India Company" in 1667, it was resolved that some ships should proceed from Madagascar to India with instructions for fixing an introductory establishment there. The fleet was sent out to India at the instance of M. Colbert, the famous minister of King Louis XIV of France, known as *Le Grande Monarque*. The two gentlemen selected to superintend the expedition were judiciously chosen and possessed the requisite experience and judgment. The first of these was M. Caron, who had spent several years in the Dutch Service and had risen to be the president of the Factory in Japan where he had suffered severely and having sought for an indemnification from the authority of the States-General in vain, retired in disgust and returned to France, at a crisis too, when such a man was badly wanted. He was soon introduced to the Minister, treated with distinction and favour and consulted on every subject in which the interests of the new Company were involved. The other was M. Marcara Avanchinz, an Armenian and a native of Ispahan, the capital of Persia, a man of high birth and great influence at home from whom the Company expected great things.

The Squadron arrived at Cochin on the 24th day of December 1667 and was courteously received by the Dutch Governor, and thence proceeded to Surat (2) where it had been decided that the first French Factory was to be erected.

(1) When the church was built, it had no steeple. The present handsome spire, which serves as a belfry, was erected in 1820, through the munificence of Mrs. Sophia Bagram, a pious and a wealthy Armenian lady of Calcutta.

(2) The first English Factory in India was opened at Surat in 1612 by the permission of the Mogul Emperor Jehangeer, son of Akbar the Great. The Armenians, the pioneers of the foreign trade in India, had established themselves at Surat long before the advent of the English, the Dutch and the French, being great favourites with the Mogul Emperors from Akbar downwards.

In 1669, Marcara Avanchinz was despatched by the French, as an envoy to the Court of Abdulla Kutub Shah, the King of Golconda, where he had several powerful and personal friends by whose favour and influence he expected to be able to secure for the French the privilege of trading through that kingdom, of purchasing whatever marchandise was required, of employing manufacturers and of obtaining license to establish a Factory at Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast. This was a very delicate mission and the objects difficult of acquisition. It was a well-known fact that the Dutch and the English, whose influence was very great at the Court of Golconda, had failed in obtaining concessions not nearly so important, and that the representatives of the two nations referred to above, had instructions to use all their influence to frustrate the efforts of the French, and to crown all, Marcara Avanchinz was scantily supplied with money, an article as indispensable to an Oriental, as to a European diplomat.

Not disheartened by these untoward circumstances, he proceeded to Golconda, where he successfully accomplished this important negotiation and on the 5th December 1669, Marcar obtained a Farman from His Majesty the King of Golconda, by which the "French East India Company" was privileged to trade to all parts of his territory, without paying any export or import duties—a favour the Dutch were never able to obtain and which the English had secured in 1665 at a very great expense.

The successful agent then proceeded to Masulipatam where he had his Farman registered. He also settled a Factory there of which he was appointed the President and in that capacity he conducted the trade of the French Company with zeal, honesty and diligence. These eminent services did not, however, shield the honest Armenian from envious aspersions and foul imputations. His colleague, M. Caron, had by his intrigues, ingratiated himself into the highest degree of favour with the Minister, M. Colbert (a man of Scotch descent) from whom he obtained an order in 1671, by which he was raised to the second post in the "French East India Company's" service, with the result that all the friends of Marcar Avanchinz were removed from their employments and subjected to persecutions, although in the order there was not a single charge brought against him, not a word to incriminate him. He addressed a full and satisfactory justification of his conduct to M. Colbert, the Minister, who, after a minute and searching examination, made an impartial report to the King, Louis XIV, who entirely approved of M. Marcar Avanchinz's conduct and testified to his innocence by a solemn *arret* (decree).

It is sad to reflect that the Church built by the Margar family in 1695, is the only landmark left to-day of the once flourishing Armenian colony of Chinsurah. The place was deserted by the Armenians when it lost its commercial importance and they transferred their trade to Calcutta in the early part of the last century.

It is gratifying however to note that owing to its proximity to Calcutta, the historic Church at Chinsurah is not likely to share the sad fate of the Armenian Church at Saidabad (built in 1758) which is practically deserted

and on the verge of ruin, for on the festival of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the church, which falls on the 14th day of January, divine service is held there annually, with celebration of the Holy Mass, and it is attended largely by the Armenian community of Calcutta who make vows in that old Church with the same zeal, devotion and religious fervour as the Roman Catholics at the Bandel Church on the festival of the Novena which falls in November when hundreds of devout Catholics go there on a pilgrimage from Calcutta and elsewhere in Bengal.

The Roman Catholic Church and Convent at Bandel, a small village near Hooghly, is the *oldest* place of Christian worship in Bengal. The original Church and the priory was built by the Augustinian Friars in 1599, but it was burnt down and entirely destroyed by the order of the Mogul Emperor Shah Jehan (who built the world famed Taj at Agra) on the 24th day of June 1632.

The present Church and the Convent was re-built in 1640, by Joam Gomes de Soto, when the keep-stone of the original Church, with the date 1599, was placed over the eastern gate of the present Church where it can be seen to this day. For a complete and an exhaustive account of the Roman Catholic Church at Bandel, see the learned article by the late Father H. Hosten, S.J., in the pages of "Bengal—Past and Present"—the Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society—for January—March 1915, under the caption "A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli".

MESROVB J. SETH.

Some facts about Old Dacca

IN B. P. P. for January—March, 1927, I dealt with the subject at some length in my article, "The English Factory at Dacca". The dates given in that article were based upon the translation of Tuzak-i-Jahangiri by Rogers and Beveridge and also upon Sir Jadunath Sarkar's contributions in the *Pravasi*, on Islam Khan's struggles with the Bengal Chiefs, based on the unique Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan.⁽¹⁾ The entire work has now been translated into English by Dr. M. I. Borah, Head of the Department of Persian and Urdu, Dacca University, and has been taken up for publication by the Department of Historical Studies of the Government of Assam. The dates given in the Baharistan do not agree with the dates given in the Tuzak. I am not inclined to give preference to the dates of the Tuzak in the face of the clear testimony of the dates of the Baharistan. I have, therefore, to propose certain corrections of the dates recorded in my article, "The English Factory at Dacca".

The date of the appointment of Islam Khan to the Subadarship of Bengal was recorded as April, 1608. It should be corrected to April, 1607. I do not agree with Dr. S. N. Bhattacharyya who in a recent contribution on "Transfer of the Capital of Mughal Bengal"—published in the first number of the Dacca University Studies, P. 44, also says that Islam Khan "Assumed charge of his office at Rajmahal about the beginning of the rains in 1608".

With the kind permission of Dr. Borah, I am able to utilise his translation of the Baharistan for some dates. In the very first chapter, it is mentioned that on the death of Jahangir Quli Khan, Islam Khan was appointed to the Subahdarship of Bengal. On the recommendation of the new Subahdar, drastic official changes were effected in Bengal. Ihtimam Khan was appointed the Mir Bahar *i.e.* the Admiral of the fleet of war-boats, an indispensable instrument of offence and defence in Bengal. Ihtimam Khan was given leave of departure by the emperor on "Thursday night, the 5th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1016 A.H. (30th June, 1607 A.D.), four *Gharis* after night-fall." He actually started in the morning of Wednesday, the 9th Rabi-ul-Awwal, equivalent to the 4th July, 1607 A.D. The date given in the Tuzak should be corrected in the light of these two definite dates.

The date when Islam Khan reached Dacca, I made out as June, 1610, (B. P. P. 1927, Jan-March, P. 27). Dr. Bhattacharyya has also repeated the

(1) Sir Jadunath Sarkar made out the name as Mirza Sahan. The credit of correcting it to Nathan with the help of the Assam Buranjis belongs to Dr. S. N. Bhattacharyya of Dacca University.

mistake. (Dacca University Studies No. 1, P. 48). There is a definite date in the Baharistan, with the help of which Islam Khan's entry into Dacca can be dated approximately. When the Mughal army on its way from Shahzadapur to Dacca *via* the Ichhamati river, was fighting with the forces of Musa Khan in and about the confluence of Katashgarh, a canal was dug by the Mughals opening up a short cut to the Ichhamati. The astrologers fixed the 27th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1017 A.H. (11th July, 1608 A.D.), two *Gharis* after night-fall, as the auspicious time for entry into the canal. Islam Khan reached Dacca within about a week of this move. So the date of his entry into Dacca has to be fixed as c. 18th July, 1608 A.D.

I made out in my article referred to above that there was never a ceremonial foundation of Dacca. The place was already important as commanding the strategic short cuts (water routes) from the Brahmaputra to the Ganges. Some pre-Mughal inscriptions are to be found on the site. The Mughals also had an outpost there long before Islam Khan's arrival on the site. I am now in a position to produce evidence to the effect that the site was inhabited even in pre-Muslim days. Mr. H. E. Stapleton described an Imitation-Gupta Coin found in the western outskirts of Dacca. (J. A. S. B. 1910, P. 142). Recently, a fine image of Harisankara (half Hari and half Sankara) was dug out of an old tank at Tejgaon, adjoining the town on the north. It is a fine image in black chlorite, about 30 inches high, and can be ascribed to the Sena period. The exact find spot is about 2 furlongs from the brick over-bridge over the Railway line, north of the Tejgaon Railway station. I would further point out that the beautiful temple of Dhakeswari, whose authorship is unknown, is in a style which prevailed exclusively in Bengal in pre-Muhammadan days (Vide my "Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum". Intro. P. xii—xvi).

It is well-known that the Mughals had an outpost at Dacca long before the advent of Islam Khan. Was this outpost protected by a fort? A passage in the Baharistan would show that an old fort existed at Dacca before Islam Khan reached there. When Islam Khan was advancing by the Ichhamati river, over the present Manikganj Sub-Division of Dacca district, Musa Khan opposed him at Katashgarh, at the entrance to the Ichhamati and constructed a strong fort by the south bank of the Ichhamati, at a place called Dhakijora, about 6 miles north-east of Aricha on the bank of the Padma. In speaking of this hastily constructed fort of Musa Khan at Dhakijora, Mirza Nathan observes:—"In Bengal, there were no ancient forts except those at Gaur, Akbarnagar *alias* Rajmahal, Ghoraghat, Dhaka and some other places of this type; but in time of need, the boat-men quickly construct such a fort that even the expert masters are unable to build one like it within months and years".

So there appears to have been an old fort at Dacca. But two pages back, Nathan says that when at the *mohana* of Khal-Jogini, three marches down Shahzadapur, Islam Khan despatched three of his lieutenants with necessary equipments direct to Dhaka. Overcoming much difficulty on the way, they reached Dhaka in six marches. "They proved a terror to Musa

Khan and other Zamindars and became engaged in the construction of the fort of Dhaka''.

Does this mean that the fort of Dhaka was *first* constructed by these three lieutenants of Islam Khan who preceded him at most by two weeks? I am inclined to believe that they were sent as advance guards to the Mughal outpost at Dhaka and they did not actually construct a new fort but put the old fort in due repairs,—that is all that they can be expected to do within the short time that was at their disposal.

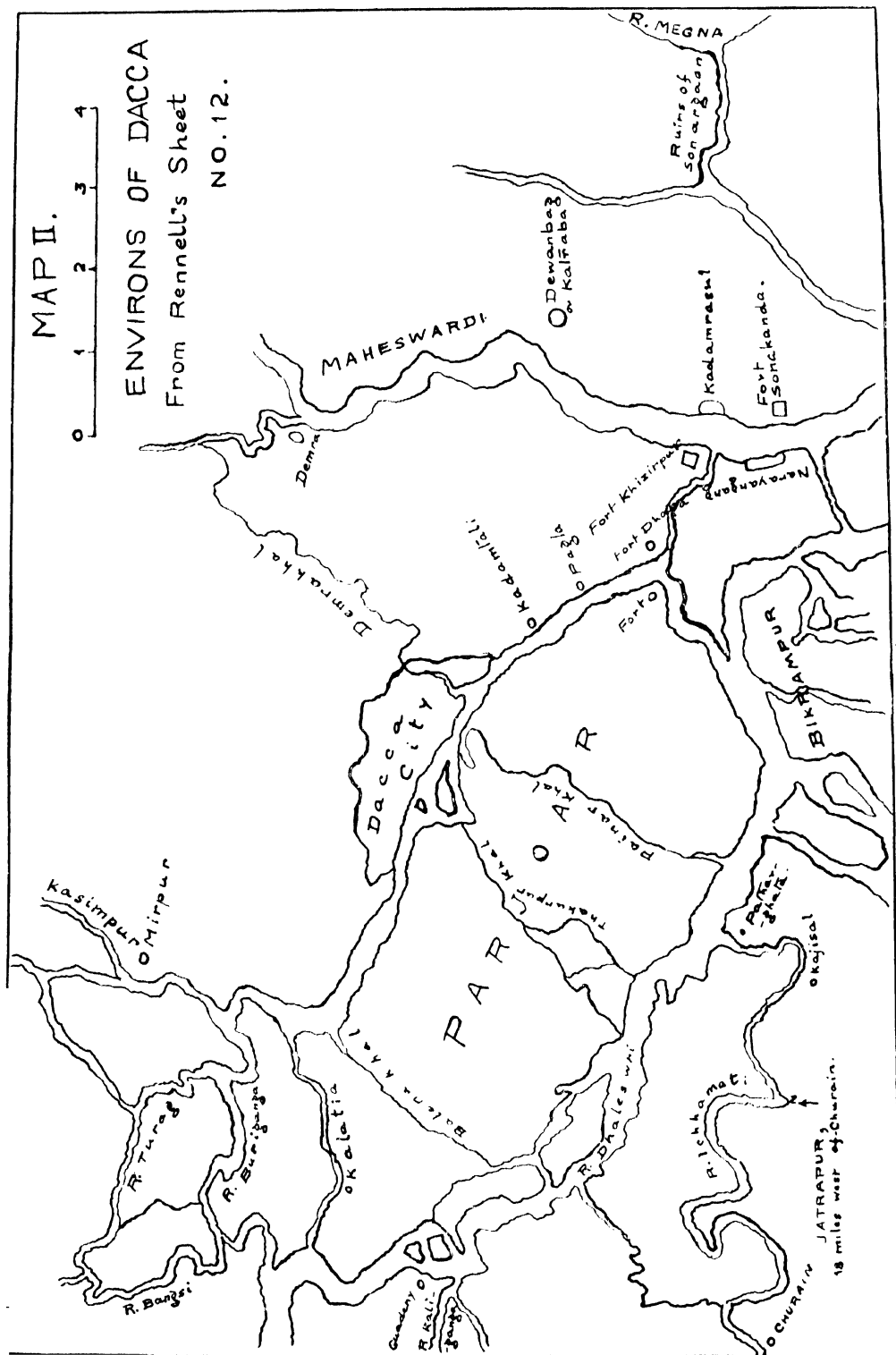
The present fort of Dacca, *i.e.* the one at Lalbag is a late one. It was begun by Prince Muhammad Azim during his tenure of Subahdarship in 1678 and is believed to have been left incomplete by him. The old fort of Dacca was situated immediately north of the Chawkbazar. No vestige of it is left standing and the entire site is now enclosed within the spacious walls of the Jail compound. A good-sized tank with masonry banks is the only memorial left of this, the earliest Mughal building of Dacca. It is recorded that Shayesta Khan ordered the western gate of the fort to be closed in memory of the cheapness of grains during his Subahdarship. No vestige of this western gate now remains but possibly it faced the Urdu Road (See map I). But the eastern gate of the fort, which must have been identical with the main gate of the present jail, is still remembered in the Purab-Darwaja Road which runs direct east from this place. The Dacca Municipality has recently changed this historic name and has named the road after one of the living Municipal Commissioners. The break of continuity in local traditions caused by the disappearance of this historic street name at the instance of the Municipal authorities will be regretted by all lovers of the city of Dacca for whom her past is still alive.

From the pages of Mirza Nathan, we get welcome glimpses of Dacca of the earliest days and of the water-routes leading to the city. The fighting forces that accompanied Islam Khan would be about 50,000 at a modest computation and the camp followers and the boat-men together would be even a greater number. With the sudden influx of a lakh of people, this modest Mughal outpost suddenly grew up into an important city and a new Mughal Dacca had to be quickly built up to accommodate the new arrivals. The process must have been exactly similar to what took place in 1905 when this old city was made the capital of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The spacious lands in and about Ramna were quickly converted into a new city with the old city lying to its immediate south. From the pages of Mirza Nathan we learn that, occupied in July, 1608, the old city and the new city could be clearly distinguished in 1610-11. Nathan and his father Ihtimam Khan were welcomed on their arrival at Dacca by Islam Khan himself who had reached the place ahead of them by two or three days by the land route. The Khans met and set out towards *the fort of Dacca*. (By the way, this is another indication that the fort already existed). They found that the river Dulai bifurcated into two branches before Dacca,—one branch going to join the Lakshya river at Demra and the other flowing down to join the Lakshya at Khizirpur. There is no mention of the Buriganga, which is the present

A vertical number line with tick marks at 0, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

From Rennell's Sheet

20.12.



name of the river on which Dacca stands. The old name of the river was Dulai and in the absence of contemporary evidence, it is impossible to decide if the name Buriganga was known. Buriganga now makes a sharp turn towards the south-west from Fatulla (old Dhapa) (*i.e.* from the point at which it turned towards Khizirpur) and joins the Dhaleswari. There are good reasons to hold that this outlet is a later growth and did not exist when Islam Khan came and occupied Dacca. The river on which Dacca stands emptied itself into the Lakshya by two mouths, one falling at Khizirpur, the northern part of present Narayanganj; and the other at Demra, about four miles higher up.

At the point where the Dulai bifurcated, on either side of the branch running to Demra, there were two forts of Beg Murad Khan. Islam Khan placed Ihtimam Khan in charge of one and Nathan in charge of the other. Nathan had his house built near the western fort. This branch of the Dulai river is still a prominent feature of the city of Dacca (See map I). It is now called the Dulai canal and it goes north-east (See map II) to join the Balu river, which again joins the Lakshya at Demra. Vestiges of an old fortification are still to be found on the eastern bank of this starting point of the Dulai canal directly on the bank of the Buriganga. It is popularly known as the Kalghar (the Mill) from a Sugar Mill that used to stand on the site. For a long time, this site was also used by the Military Police and the barracks used to be known as the Mill-barracks. The strong abutments that still exist running down to the water's edge probably belonged to Beg Murad Khan's second fort, referred to by Mirza Nathan.

But there are no remains to show where the first fort stood. It must have been close on the west of the starting point of the canal and Nathan's house stood close by. Nathan got married on his way back from the successful expedition against Pratapaditya. But the newly married couple were not left in peaceful enjoyment of their honeymoon. An express courier from Islam Khan suddenly made his appearance on the way when Nathan was leisurely coming back to Dacca. The Maghs had fallen upon the outpost of Bhulua and frantic calls for assistance came from that outpost as well as from the outpost of Sripur. "You are to take your rice on the way and water in my presence"—said the message from Islam Khan. Nathan hurried back to Dacca and was commanded by Islam Khan to proceed immediately against the Maghs. But Islam Khan was stingy and grudged the newly married lieutenant ample provisions for the expedition. This made the young lover rebel. He sturdily refused to go against the Maghs with insufficient provisions. "I shall see that you go"—roared the *zabardast* Subahdar. "I also want to see what sort of subahdar you are, that can make me go"—cried the stubborn young man. There was a deadlock.

Next morning, people were surprised to learn that Nathan had renounced the world and turned a Qalandar. He had moreover chained himself to allay any suspicion of treason! The wily Subahdar knew how to trap the young Qalandar. He sent a message of good-will to Nathan and said—"Our Chisti family is a family of Dervishes by profession from time immemorial.

So it is quite in the fitness of things that you should come to me and have my blessings on the threshold of the new life that you have chosen for yourself."

Nathan obeyed, as to do otherwise would have gone against his new rôle of a humble and peaceful Qalandar. As his legs were chained, he got on a palanquin and proceeded towards the residence of Islam Khan inside the fort. Some turbulent followers of Nathan accompanied him in arms and did not desist though Nathan asked them to do so. It is in the very brief description of this journey to Islam Khan's residence that we get a glimpse of the Dacca of 1611. Nathan started from his own house at the mouth of the Dulai canal and gradually came up to an old Pakur tree. Nathan says that this tree stood at the boundary between Old and New Dacca and was also midway between his residence and the residence of Islam Khan. He found that the entire stretch of the road from this Pakur tree to Islam Khan's residence inside the fort was guarded by soldiers posted on either side of the road on horses and elephants.

In old days, places were often known after prominent trees of the locality, as names like Taltala, Lebutala, Atabagan, Peyarabagan and numerous other names in Calcutta testify. A prominent locality of Dacca has come to be known as Saogon-Bagicha within the last 20 years from *segun*-trees which are still numerous on the site. There is a *mahalla* called Pakurtali just on the Road that we would expect Nathan to take from the mouth of the Dulai canal in his progress to the residence of Islam Khan inside the fort. This place is now occupied by the Mitford Hospital and the Medical School. The palace of Shayesta Khan, a subsequent Subahdar (first arrival at Dacca, 1664 A.D.) stood at Pakurtali and his mosque still stands there. There are some other river-side places at Dacca known after trees, such as Kadam-tali and Badamtali. I think, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that *mahalla* Pakurtali is probably named after the great Pakur tree referred to by Mirza Nathan, especially because the place is actually midway between the site of the old fort and the mouth of the Dulai canal.

A study of the accompanying map of the city of Dacca (Map I) will further support this contention. It will be seen that an artificial canal starts from the Buriganga immediately east of Pakurtali and joins the branch of the Dulai river that divides the city into two halves, at the Malitola-Tantibazar corner of the town. This canal is undoubtedly artificial and appears to have been dug by Islam Khan to serve as a protective moat to his new settlement. That part of the city which lies surrounded by this moat, the two branches of the Dulai river and the river Buriganga formed the old town. The Tantis (weavers) and the Sankharis (the Conch-shell cutters) are universally believed to be the oldest inhabitants of Dacca and they still live in the centre of this area. All the other localities of this area bear Hindu names and names of the Hindu craftsmen—viz., Lakshmibazar, Banglabazar, Sutrapur, Jaluanagar, Banianagar, Goalnagar, Tantibazar, Sankharibazar, Sutarnagar, Kamarnagar, Goalnagar, Patuatuli and Kumartuli. It will be seen on the other hand that all the principal Mughal antiquities are situated west of the canal, viz., the

old fort, the Lalbag fort, Shayesta Khan's palace and mosque at Pakurtali, his mosque at Chawk, Shah Shuja's Barakatra and Shayesta Khan's Chotakatra. Many of the localities here, also, bear Muslim names. The prostitute quarters of the town, namely Zindabazar and Sachipandaripa are situated midway between the old Hindu town and the new Mughal city.

From these facts, I believe we can safely hold that the great Pakur tree of which Nathan speaks was situated at Pakurtali and gave its name to the locality.

The presence of two Mughaltulis in the city is interesting. The one by the eastern bank of the branch of the Dulai that enters the town is called the *Purana* i.e., the old Mughaltuly. This was probably the abode of the Mughals, when they had only an outpost at Dacca. When Islam Khan built up a new Dacca, the Mughals shifted within the area and formed the new Mughaltuly.

As regards Islam Khan's palace in Dacca, it is repeatedly recorded by Mirza Nathan that it was inside the fort. It was to this place that Qalandar Nathan was lured and kept in confinement. Nathan's father Ihtimam Khan was at this period posted at Egarasindur, a well-known place on the bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite Toke. He hurried to Dacca and secured the release of his son. The latter was still far from being pacified and wanted his father to join him in avenging some wrongs perpetrated by Islam Khan. Nathan's plan was to make a sudden attack on the fort of Dacca and kill Islam Khan in his palace inside the fort. Indeed, during this troublesome period, it would have been the height of indiscretion on the part of the Subahdar to have his palace outside the protection of the fort. Ibrahim Khan Fathjang, who died fighting Shah Jahan opposite Rajmahal, also remained content with this palace inside the fort, as is shown by the fact that after the defeat and death of the Subahdar, Shah Jahan came and occupied Dacca and took up his residence at the delightful palace of Ibrahim Khan "inside the fort." Shayesta Khan subsequently built the Subahdar's palace at Pakurtali. Tavernier records a very poor opinion of this palace. He says that it was enclosed within high walls, a sorry-looking house made of wood. It is no wonder that all trace of this palace has disappeared. The Barakatra built by the unfortunate Shuja in 1644, and originally meant to be his residence still stands firm and is still an imposing building.

Of the other buildings of the city of these early days, we have but few records in the Bahar-i-stan. In one place it is recorded that Yaghma, the news-writer possessed the finest building in Dacca. The Chandnighat, which is still a well-known *ghat* of the river, situated west of the Barakatra and south of the present water-works compound, is several times mentioned by Nathan. It was the principal *ghat* of the fort and review of the war boats used to be held at this *ghat*. Husayn Khan, Zamindar of Baniyachang, who was confined within the fort-jail, poisoned his jailors and escaped. He secretly came to the Chandnighat, quietly took a *Khelna* boat and fled to Baniyachang. Qasim Khan, who succeeded Islam Khan in the Subahdarship, landed at Chandnighat, on his arrival to take charge.

As already stated, the river Buriganga is never mentioned by Nathan. The river on which Dacca stands is invariably called the Dulai and it is

recorded in several places that it emptied itself into the Lakshya at Khizirpur. This branch of the Dulai is a mere canal now, but it was a very considerable stream even when Rennell surveyed it (1780) as will be evident from our Map No. II, which is a copy from Rennell's Sheet No. 12. Numerous proofs that this was the principal outlet of the river on which Dacca stands and that its present mouth to the Dhaleswari did not exist, can be given from Nathan's pages. The Mughal army and war-boats in going towards the east and the south first always proceeded to the Lakshya river through this route, and then moved south or east as necessary. The Dhaleswari mouth of the river is never mentioned.

When Islam Khan came to Dacca for the first time, he asked the war-boats under Ihtimam Khan to proceed to Dacca *via* the Guadhari canal. The position of Guadery is fortunately noted by Rennell and a glance at the map will show that Islam Khan wanted them to reach Dacca, *via* the Kalatia canal, avoiding the eastern routes. It will be seen that there are three other *khangs* that lead from the Dhaleswari to the Buriganga, but probably they were too narrow for the Mughal war-boats. One cannot also be sure that these canals existed in those days. When once in Dacca, we find the Mughal army and war-boats always subsequently going to the bank of the Lakshya through the Khizirpur mouth of the Dulai. The route through which Shah Jahan came to occupy Dacca is not mentioned, but he is expressly stated to have left Dacca *via* Khizirpur. Incidentally, the interesting information is given by Nathan that the foot-print of the Prophet at Kadamrasul opposite Khizirpur was established there by Masum Khan Kabuli, the rebel general of Akbar, and not by Manwar Khan, as has so long been held. (Vide "Antiquities of Dacca" by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Aulad Hasan, P. 59). Shah Jahan's next halt was at Vikrampur and the third and the fourth halts at Kalakupa and Jatrapur respectively. This Ichhamati route was the usual water-route to and from Dacca in those days and Islam Khan followed this route in coming to Dacca from Shahzadapur in the Pabna district. The zamindars of Bengal who had all joined Shah Jahan, forsook him after his defeat at the hands of Mahabhat Khan. They hurried to Dacca *via* Khizirpur and laid siege to Dacca. If the Dhaleswari mouth of the Buriganga was then open, there is no reason why this circuitous route should be taken both by the outgoers and the incomers, in preference to this mouth, which was very much of a short cut.

Further proofs from independent sources are also not wanting. It is well-known that between Jatrapur on the Ichhamati, the usual water route to Dacca from the west in those days, and Dacca, there were and still are two major rivers. One is the Dhaleswari, into which the Ichhamati empties itself ; and the other is the Buriganga on which Dacca stands. A look at our Map III, a copy of Van den Broucke's map of 1660 will show that both the rivers joined the Lakshya in those days. The bearings of Broucke's map are not very accurate, but the value of this ancient map lies in the fact that it is the fullest and the most accurate map available for those days. The rise of the Ichhamati from the Padma, the position of Jatrapur not far from this place of origin, the position of the important villages of Kajisala and Idrakpur are correctly shown

on this map. On Rennell's map, Ichhamati flows a long way west of Jatrapur to take rise from the Padma. But Broucke shows the position of Jatrapur quite close to the origin. This anomaly is explained by the details of Tavernier's approach to Dacca in January, 1666. Here are his exact words :

"The eleventh (January) toward evening, being come to that part where Ganges divides itself into three arms, whereof one runs to Dacca ; we lay at a large town *upon the entry of the great channel*, which town is called Jatrapur."

"They that have no luggage may take a short cut from Jatrapur to Dacca and save much ground by reason of the many windings of the river."

Thus Broucke's map receives wonderful support from Tavernier. Ichhamati flows further west from Jatrapur, but in those times, there was a branch of the river that went direct south and met the Padma. In Rennell's time this branch was in a dried up condition and he does not show it on his maps. But traces of it are still shewn on the modern settlement maps of the Harirampur Police Station.

Broucke's map shows the positions of Katraba (present Dewanbag or Manwar Khan's Bag), Sonargaon, Sripur and Sangramgarh (Sancran) quite correctly, but Khizirpur is shown a little higher up than where it should be, probably for want of space. However, the chief thing to mark on this map is that the river on which Dacca stands is shown as falling into the Lakshya and not into the Dhaleswari, as it does at present.

As already stated Tavernier came to Dacca by this route. From Jatrapur, he reached Bagmara, a mile ahead of Nawabganj, at noon and by evening he halted at a place which he calls Kasiata, a great town. This is evidently Kazisal and the mistaken suffix is probably due to the name of the next village Bejerhati. The name of this Kadisal or, Kajisal adjacent to the well-known village of Hashara is shown on Broucke's map, as well as on Rennell's map. His next stage of the journey should be described by himself :—

"The thirteenth, about noon, we met with a river, two leagues from Dacca, called Laquia, which runs from the north-east. Just against the point where the two rivers join, there stands a fortress on each side with several pieces of Cannon. Half a league lower, appears another river called Pagalu upon which there is a fair bridge of brick which Mirza-Mola caused to be built. This river comes from the north-east ; and half league upward appears another river called Kadamtali, that runs from the north, over which there is another brick bridge."

It is to be noted that Tavernier had no business to go to the Lakshya river if the Dhaleswari mouth of the Buriganga was open. Tavernier was an accurate observer. He has correctly observed that where the Dulai or the Buriganga joins the Lakshya, there were two forts on either side of the river. These are the Hajiganj or Khizirpur fort on the mouth of the confluence and the Sonakanda fort on the other side of the Lakshya. The latter is still in an excellent state of preservation. The former also still exists, just north of the town of Narayanganj, but has been considerably built over. The canals

at Pagla and Kadamtali are then duly taken notice of by the traveller with the brick bridges on them. The ruins of the Pagla bridge still exist.

Hedges came to Dacca in Oct.-1682. (Hedges' Diary—Vol. I. P. 42). He also came *via* Jatrapur. He started from Jatrapur at 12 at night on the 24th and reached Chand Khan's garden at 12 noon next day. As it was just the end of the rains, the canals had still sufficient water. Chand Khan's garden is about a mile west of the Bara-katra of the city of Dacca (see Map I) and its mention shows that Hedges reached Dacca within 12 hours of leaving Jatrapur by the Thakurpur canal.

Finally Shihabuddin Talish has the following, re : the routes taken by the Magh pirates in reaching Dacca :—

"In Jahangir's reign, the Magh pirates used to come to Dacca for plunder and abduction, by the *nullah* which leaves the Brahmaputra, passes by Khizirpur and joins the *nullah* of Dacca. Khizirpur is situated on the bank of the Brahmaputra on a narrow embankment (â). In the monsoons, all the land except the sites of the houses is covered with water. The Governors of Dacca, therefore, at the end of the monsoons and during the winter, which was the season of the coming of the pirates, used to go to Khizirpur with an army and encamp there. After some years, the *nullah* dried up and many places in the track of the pirates on the Brahmaputra river also became fordable. Thus their water route to Dacca was closed on this side and restricted to the side of Jatrapur and Bikrampur. Recently, as the pirates could more easily carry out their chief design of kidnapping men in the villages of Dacca and other *parganas*, they did not exert themselves to reach the Dacca town." (Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, P. 127).

Again :—"Matters came to such a pass that the Governor of Dacca confined his energies to the defence of that city only and the prevention of the coming of the pirate fleet to Dacca and stretched some iron chains across the *nullah* of Dacca and set up some bridges of bamboo on the streams of the city." (Ibid. P. 125).

The first passage will show that the route *via* Khizirpur was the only route to Dacca and in 1664, when Shayesta Khan took over charge and came to Dacca, this route dried up during the winter. But the Dhaleswari mouth of the Buriganga had not opened even then, affording an easy passage for the Maghs to Dacca all round the year.

It is impossible to say when this mouth opened, but it had opened before the impact of the great Brahmaputra reached it through the Jamuna, as we find it on Rennell's maps of 1780. That impact, when it did really come, served only to infuse more life into it.

History of Burma (Harvey, P. 143. Phayre, P. 177, cheap Edition, 1884) records that the city of Dacca was plundered by the Maghs in 1625, *i.e.* the year following Shah Jahan's usurpation, when the affairs of Dacca were left in a hopeless confusion. It was probably on this occasion that bamboo bridges were put across that branch of the Dulai which enters the town, to facilitate

the escape of the inhabitants to the jungles inland. I remember to have read somewhere that only the eastern portion of the town was sacked on this occasion, and the Maghs fled when regular troops were called out from the fort, but I have not been able to verify my source.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

The Editor's Note Book.

A DESCRIPTION of the oil-painting which we reproduce on the opposite page will be found on page 32 of Sir William Foster's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Paintings and Statues at the India Office" (5th edition 1924). It hangs in the room of Lord Clive's Fund. the Parliamentary Under-Secretary over the fireplace, and the title is given as follows: "Lord Clive receiving from the Nawab of Bengal the grant of the Sum of Money which was applied to establish the Fund for Disabled Officers and Soldiers known as Lord Clive's Fund". The East India Company's Military Fund for the relief of old and disabled officers and soldiers, and the widows of those dying in the Company's service, was established in 1770 and was known as Lord Clive's Fund, from the fact that it owed its origin to the generosity of Clive in devoting to this purpose a legacy of five lakhs of rupees, left to him by Mir Jafar, the Nawab of Bengal. The administration was placed in the hands of the Company, and Mr. Edward Penny was commissioned in 1773 to paint the picture which was hung in the Military Fund office, created for that purpose. The sum of £150 was voted to Mr. Penny on February 3, 1773, out of the contingent Military Fund, for the painting of the picture, and a further sum of £60 was granted out of the same fund on March 25. The dimensions of the picture are 54 inches by 48. The principal figure in the composition is Lord Clive, in scarlet coat with facings and cuffs of black velvet ornamented with gold braid, scarlet breeches and buff coloured waistcoat with the red ribbon of the Bath. The costume is completed by a black gold-braided hat, grey stockings, and shoes with gold buckles. His face is turned to the Nawab on the right, who is probably intended for Najm-ud-daula, the son and successor of Mir Jafar, although, as a matter of fact, the warrant was handed to Clive by Mir Jafar's widow. The Nawab, who wears a long robe of flowered satin, is extending his hands in amazement. Clive is holding a folded document in his right hand and is pointing with his left to a group of destitute soldiers. The foremost of these wears the blue uniform with red facings of the Bengal Artillery, and other branches of the Company's Service are represented by three more Europeans in red uniforms and an Indian, also in red with a white and blue turban. In the near distance is an Englishwoman, with an infant on her lap and her right arm clasping a boy, while other children are standing near.

EDWARD PENNY, the painter of the picture (1714—1791) was a foundation member of the Royal Academy. He studied under Thomas Hudson, and went later to Rome. From 1760 until his death in 1791, he was a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists. He was the first Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy and held that office from 1768—1782.

The Painter of the Picture.



The Foundation of Lord Clive's Fund
Painted by Edward Penny in 1773.
From the picture at the India Office.

SOME particulars may be of interest regarding James Edward Alexander, the translator of Mirza Iteesa Moodeen's "*Shigurfnama-i-Velaet*" (Excellent Intelligence from Abroad), a book published in London in 1827, to which reference was made in the July-September number for 1935 (Vol. L, p. 66). His career was in fact a remarkable one and no hint of it is given in his modest description of himself on the title-page as an ex-officer of the 13th Light Dragoons, and adjutant of the Bodyguard of Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Fort St. George. He was born in 1803, and went out to India as a cornet in the Madras Cavalry. After serving in the Burmese War of 1824, he resigned the Company's service in 1825 and exchanged into the 13th Light Dragoons and later into the 12th Lancers. We next find him at the Cape of Good Hope as aide-de-camp and private secretary to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, whom he accompanied in the same capacity to Canada. He saw active service with the Persian army, in the Balkans, and in Turkey, Portugal, South Africa and New Zealand. By 1846 he was a major in the British Army and commanded the 14th Regiment at the fall of Sebastopol. For his valuable work in surveying in Central Africa and New Brunswick he was knighted and received the C.B. in 1873. During the years 1867-1877 he took an active part in the removal of Cleopatra's Needle to England. He retired as a lieutenant-general and was promoted to General in 1881. Four years later, on 2nd April, 1885, he died at Ryde in the Isle of Wight. Besides his English honours, he was a Knight Commander of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun. Although he spent only five years of his long life in India, he crowded a variety of experiences in other parts of the world into the remaining sixty years, and deserves not to be forgotten. Besides his translation of the *Shigurfnama*, he published an account of his travels from India to England by way of Burma, Persia and Turkey in 1827, as well as other works.

“ON the 20th of December [1807] I went out of office as Under-Sheriff and was succeeded by Mr. James Taylor, who had been appointed by his bosom friend and brother scoundrel, Sir William Burroughs.” This, and a short note recording Taylor's lack of “nice scruples or conscientious qualms,” is all that the editor has vouchsafed us regarding Hickey's opinion of his successor, particulars of the latter's career having been deleted. To what extent Hickey's strictures were justified, or whether they were due merely to professional jealousy, we have thus no means of judging; but from outside sources one is led to deduce the fact that Taylor's earlier career at any rate was that of an adventurer pure and simple. In the first place, his real name was George Gawler, and the assumption of the alias may perhaps have been not altogether unconnected with a charge of forgery for which he was wanted in Bombay in 1785. His father, John Gawler, was a Devonshire gentleman who had served with Wolfe at Quebec, where he married and where his son George was born in 1764. It has been claimed for John Gawler that his portrait appears in “The Death of General Wolfe,” painted by Benjamin West and

James Taylor, Deputy Sheriff of Calcutta.

COLONEL William Lees Greenstreet, who died at Compton Bassett, Wilts., on Oct. 1st last, aged 91, was a Royal Engineer who served for many years in the Military Works Department in India. He was Engineer-in-Chief of the Black Mountain Expedition of 1891, and was mentioned in Despatches. He was a grandson of Gen. John Greenstreet (1781—1856), Colonel of the 60th B.N.I., who commanded the Bengal Brigade serving with Brig.-Gen. Doveton's force at the siege and capture of Asirgarh in 1819. Gen. John Greenstreet was a maternal nephew of Col. Thomas Hawkins (1756—1818) and Major Henry Hawkins (1750—1812), both of the Bengal Army, the latter of whom was grandfather of the first and last Lord Brampton, better known as Sir Henry Hawkins. Of the same family was the late Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, the novelist.

THERE can be but few Calcutta business men of the past who have been honoured by their native town renaming one of its principal streets as a memorial to them. This year marks the centenary of the death of William Wilson, sometime an indigo planter in Bengal and afterwards a member of a firm of ship-builders in Calcutta, in whose memory Newton Street in the town of Beith, Ayrshire, was renamed Wilson Street in 1837. Wilson came out to India as Purser of the *Phoenix* Indiaman in 1786, and was engaged in the manufacture of indigo at Manickrage (? Manikganj) until the close of the eighteenth century. He then joined the firm of Gilmore & Co. in Calcutta, with whom he remained until 1816, when he left India. He returned to Beith and bought the mansion of Crummock, where he died in 1836 at the age of 82. His portrait hangs in the Town-house at Beith.

ANOTHER Indigo Planter who brought a substantial fortune home with him from India was Henry Dawes whose death is thus reported in the *Asiatic Journal* for May, 1839: "April 8, 1839—At Juggernaut Cottage, South Mims, at the advanced age of 84, Mr. Henry Dawes. He was formerly an indigo-planter, and accumulated an immense fortune in the East-Indies. On his return to England he would not acknowledge any of his relations, on account of some supposed injury inflicted by one of the members of his family. He married a half-caste in India, by whom he had two sons, now in Bengal, to whom he has left the bulk of his fortune, amounting to nearly £95,000, subject to two annuities of £50 each to his servants. Since the death of his wife, which took place in 1821, he had secluded himself from all society, and allowed his beard to grow to such a length, that he was known in the vicinity by the title of "The Hermit."—*London Paper*."

ON 9th November, 1935 occurred the death of Major Henry Pelham Burn at the age of 82. His mother was Lucy Young, daughter of William Hickey, a Calcutta merchant who was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1835. This William Hickey, who was in no way related to his namesake the diarist, was a son of Noah Hickey of Violets Town, Co. Meath, Ireland. He married a sister of Lieutenant-General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, Bart. ; held a commission in the King's service for seven years and in the Company's service for another ten ; and died at Calcutta of cholera in November 1841, being buried in the Circular Road cemetery. His grandson, Major Burn, was born in Fort William on 7th January, 1853, and after taking a degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, entered the Rifle Brigade, with whom he served in the Burma War of 1887. Not long before, when proceeding on leave from India, he rode on horseback from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

READERS of Sir Edward MacLagan's admirable book on *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* may care to have a note of an interesting article on the Jesuits in Afghanistan, by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., which appeared in the *New Review* of Calcutta in the issues for January and February, 1935. This review, which is conducted by the Society of Jesus, is admirably produced, and published by Messrs. Macmillan.

A NEWCOMER to the ranks of Indian historical periodicals is the "Journal of the Sind Historical Society", Vol. I, No. 1 of which appeared in May 1934. The fifth number is now in the press. The Journal is well-produced and does credit to the Society. Particular attention is devoted in various papers to the historical geography of Sind, which owing to the vagaries of the course of the Indus is of especial interest. The Secretary of the Sind Historical Society is Mr. N. M. Billimoria, of Marston Road, Karachi ; and the annual subscription is six rupees.

TWO interesting oil-paintings have been purchased from Messrs. Spink & Son for the art collection at Government House, Madras. The first is a portrait (78½ inches by 50¾ inches) of Amir-ul-Omra (1730—1788), the second son of Muhammad Ali Walajah, the famous Nawab of the Carnatic who died seven years before his father. The authorship can be attributed with some show of probability to Tilly Kettle, who is known to have painted portraits of Walajah and his five sons. The second picture (58½ inches by 44 inches) is by George Willison and represents Walajah with his son Amir-ul-Omra and his grandson Abdul Ali Khan. Both were offered for sale at Christie's in 1925.

WHEN the Daniells were at Trichinopoly in June 1792, they visited the "Garden" of the Nawab of the Carnatic, who had, however, been residing since 1767 at Chepauk Palace in Madras. The Nawab's Pictures at Trichinopoly. William Daniell writes in his journal (June 11): "In one of the buildings were two Pictures by Stubs (the Horse and the Lyon and the Lyon and the Tyger), the King and Queen of England and the King and Queen of France with Portraits of several Persons of Consequence." The allusion to portraits of the King and Queen of France is intriguing. They cannot be the portraits of Louis XV and Marie Leczinska which hang in the ball-room at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, for the Dutch admiral, Stavorinus, who visited Calcutta in 1770, mentions that in "one of the two handsome assembly rooms over the [old] Court House" which stood on the site of St. Andrew's Church and was demolished in 1792, there were "hung up the portraits of the King of France and the late Queen which were brought up by the English from Chandernagore when they took the place" in 1757. The two other royal portraits were Allan Ramsay's coronation portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte, of which there are replicas at Calcutta and also at Madras. But those which the Daniells saw at Trichinopoly in 1792 had been sent in the spring of 1768 on board the *Ponsborne* East Indiaman through the Directors as a present to the Nawab of the Carnatic from the King, with the singular accompaniment of a live lion from the royal menagerie—presumably the "Lyon" which figured in the pictures by "Stubs". The original autograph letter is preserved in the office of the Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends in Madras. The pictures are, however, not mentioned among the eight paintings which were acquired by the Government of Fort St. George in 1859 from Chepauk Palace. Another notable absentee from the list is the portrait of the Prince of Wales (George IV) by Hoppner which was presented to Nawab Umdat-ul-Omra in 1798, was seen by Lord Valentia in 1804 in the Durbar Hall at Chepauk, and is known to have been restored in 1820. It has completely disappeared.

ANOTHER art collection in the Southern Presidency which is happily still in existence, but which is little known, is to be seen in the Palace at Pudukotah. An illustrated catalogue by Mr. Percy MacQueen, I.C.S., was published in 1926; and a brief reference to the pictures is made in Mr. Percy Brown's book on Indian painting. They divide themselves into three groups, which may be termed the Tanjore School, the English School, and the school of Ravi Varma. The portraits are those of the Tondaiman rajas from 1730 to the present time. The English School is represented by examples of the work of F. C. Lewis junior, who visited Pudukotah in 1852 and 1853 and an account of whose career as an artist in India was given in *Bengal: Past & Present* in 1932 (Vol. XLIV, pp. 54—60). The best of these is a portrait of Lewis's patron, Raja Ramchandra Tondaiman (1839—1886). It was engraved by F. C. Lewis senior and copies are at the India Office and the Victoria Memorial Hall, the latter having been presented by the Dorai Raja, the regent

of the State. Other portraits by Lewis are those of the Raja's brother, Tirumalai Tondaiman ; Sir Henry Pottinger, Governor of Fort St. George from 1848 to 1854 (who is unrepresented in the collection at Government House, Madras) ; and Dr. Dealtry (1796—1861, Archdeacon of Calcutta from 1835—1848 and Bishop of Madras from 1850—1861, as well as a large picture (96 inches by 50 inches) of the Raja in Durbar. A characteristic and very curious example of the Tanjore School is a portrait in water-colours of General Sir William Blackburne (1764—1839) of the Madras Army, who was Resident at Tanjore and Pudukotah from 1801—1823, and remodelled the administration in both States.

“**S**UPPLEMENTARY List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind, Afganistan and Baluchistan”, compiled by Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, has just been published by the Punjab Government Press, Lahore, at the price of ten rupees. The previous official list of M. I. in the Punjab etc., compiled by Mr. (now Sir) Miles Irving, ended with the year 1905 ; and this represents an organised attempt to bring it up to date, as well as to fill some of the gaps in the previous list. Sind and Baluchistan, which were omitted from the original list, are now included since these territories form part of the diocese of Lahore. The new list contains about 1200 inscriptions, exclusive of war memorials, and should prove a valuable historical and genealogical source-book. It is intended also to issue, in due course, a similar supplementary volume to the late Mr. De Rhé-Philipe's series of biographical notices of the persons commemorated by the Monumental Inscriptions. We understand, too, that a volume of Monumental Inscriptions in Rajputana and Central India is in the press, compiled by Mrs Crofton, whose book of Monumental Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar appeared three or four years ago. It is good to know that this work, of great importance for the history of the English in India, is being continued on much the same lines as it was by the late Dr. Wilson in Bengal and the late Mr. J. J. Cotton in Madras a generation ago.

SUCH lists of monumental inscriptions must inevitably have omissions, and one interesting epitaph which might have appeared in the new Punjab etc. volume, but is not to be found therein, is the following, which we recently transcribed in the main cemetery at Karachi :—“Captain Jahleel Brenton Carey, 2nd Bn. North Stafford Regiment, died at Karachi, 22nd February 1883, aged 35½ years. Being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Rom. V.i.” This was the officer to whom the blame for the tragic death in Zululand of the Prince Imperial of France was attached, though much has been done to absolve him in a book which is too little known, *Service Trials and Tragedies*, by the late Lieut.-Colonel F. E. Whitton. It is there stated that Carey was sentenced to death by a general court-martial,

Captain Carey and the Prince Imperial.

apparently on a charge of cowardice in the face of the enemy, but the proceedings were not confirmed by H. M. Queen Victoria. He did not long survive the disaster. Another interesting military epitaph in the same graveyard is that of Gabriel Rodrigues, late Subedar-Major of the 1st Grenadier Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, who died on the 10th December 1893, at the patriarchal age of ninety. This recalls the days when the Bombay sepoys had many Goans and Jews in their ranks. There is a forgotten cemetery at Poona, between the Lloyd Swimming Bath and the Ghorpuri barracks, full of Jewish Indian officers' graves.

THE TIMES announces the death, in London on 13 November 1935, at the age of 91, of Annie Marion, daughter of Sir Henry Marion Durand, Bart., who when Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was killed at Tank on New Year's Day, 1871, by the howdah of the elephant on which he was riding being crushed under one of the gateways of the city. He is buried in a handsome marble tomb within the churchyard at Dera Ismail Khan. His daughter who has just died married in 1868 John Rivett-Carnac, I.C.S., whose book "Many Memories of Life in India, at Home and Abroad" is still read and who spent many years of his service as Opium Agent at Benares and Ghazipur. It is recorded that Mrs. Rivett-Carnac could recall the arrival of the first polo ponies to be imported to India. By a coincidence there died in Bournemouth, within half-an-hour of her own death, one of her lifelong friends, Agnes Mary, widow of Major-General Sir Oliver Newmarch, K.C.S.I., and sister of Lieutenant-General Sir F. B. Norman (1830-1901) and of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman (1826-1904), the last-mentioned of whom was offered the Governor-Generalship of India in 1893 by Gladstone but declined for personal reasons. Lady Newmarch was believed to have been the last surviving witness of the assassination of Lord Mayo at Hopetown in the Andaman Island on 8 February, 1872. She was with Lady Mayo on their steamer in harbour when they saw a struggle at the landing-stage, but only later knew that the Viceroy had been killed.

A MYSTERY which has never, so far as we are aware, been elucidated attaches to a tomb hidden in a clump of cactus on the Makli Hills near Tatta in Lower Sind. The inscription runs thus :
 Who was Edward Cooke? "Here lyes the names of Edward Cooke, who was taken out of the world in the Flower of his Age, a person of great esteem and much lamented by his friends, learned in many languages, of great humanity, a sound judgment and generous disposition, who departed this life on the 8th of May 1743, aetatis suae 21.

As blooming lilies grace the field,
 So for a day they shine,
 Like him to God, so they yield
 Their selves, but not their name resign.

"To whose memory his servants erected this tomb."

This inscription has several times appeared in print, notably in Cousens' *Antiquities of Sind*, in various official gazetteers, and in the revised (but very incomplete) list of monumental inscriptions issued by the Government of Bombay in 1912; but no light has ever been shed on Cooke's identity. He is sometimes stated to have been a merchant, but no authority is given for this assertion. There were no representatives of the East India Company in Sind between 1662 and 1753, though Captain Alexander Hamilton visited Tatta in 1699. It should not be impossible to establish Cooke's identity, either from records at the India Office or through genealogical sources. The "servants" who erected his tomb can hardly have been personal servants, judging by the literary quality of the epitaph.

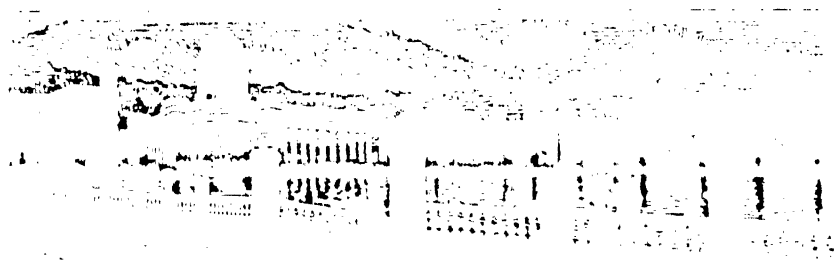
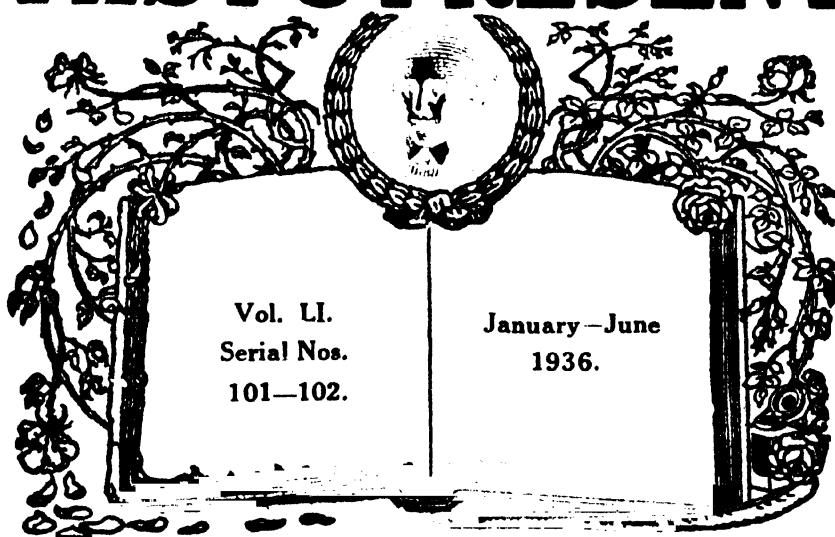
EVERY schoolboy knows (or used to know) that the first victim of the Mutiny was a Colonel Finnis. This was John Finnis of the 11th Bengal N.I., who was killed by the mutineers of the 20th N.I. at Meerut on the 10th May, 1857, aged 53. His eldest brother, Lieut. Stephen Finnis, also of the Bengal

The Finnisses:
A Soldier Family.

Army, died at Dinapore on the 1st August, 1819, aged 21. The Colonel had a son, Robert Francis, formerly a lieutenant in the Indian Navy, who died at Tandil in South America on the 22nd November, 1868 at the aged of 29; and another, John, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 2nd Punjab Infantry (P.F.F.), who died at Mussoorie on 12th September, 1884, aged 44. The latter's eldest son, John Fortescue Finnis, was also a colonel and when in command of the 53rd Sikhs died of wounds in the attempt to relieve Kut on 13th January, 1916, aged 45. Another grandson of the original John was Captain J. F. Vallentin, V.C., of the 1st Battalion South Staffordshire Regiment, who lost his life at Zillebeke near Ypres, on 7th December, 1914, aged 32. A century before, Captain Robert Finnis R.N. had fallen in action on 10th September, 1813, when in command of the sloop *Queen Charlotte*, on Lake Erie in Upper Canada. He was aged 29 years, of which 16 had been spent in the Navy. The Finnisses were natives of Hythe, and John and Stephen were the sons of Robert Finnis, Jurat of that old Town and Port: he died on 9th August, 1832 in his 79th year. The members of this service family are commemorated by tablets at St. Leonard's Church, Hythe, where the East window in the north transept is in memory of Thomas Quaested Finnis, senior alderman of the city of London, and Lord Mayor in 1857, who was born at Hythe on 18th January, 1801 and died at Wanstead on 20th November, 1883.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

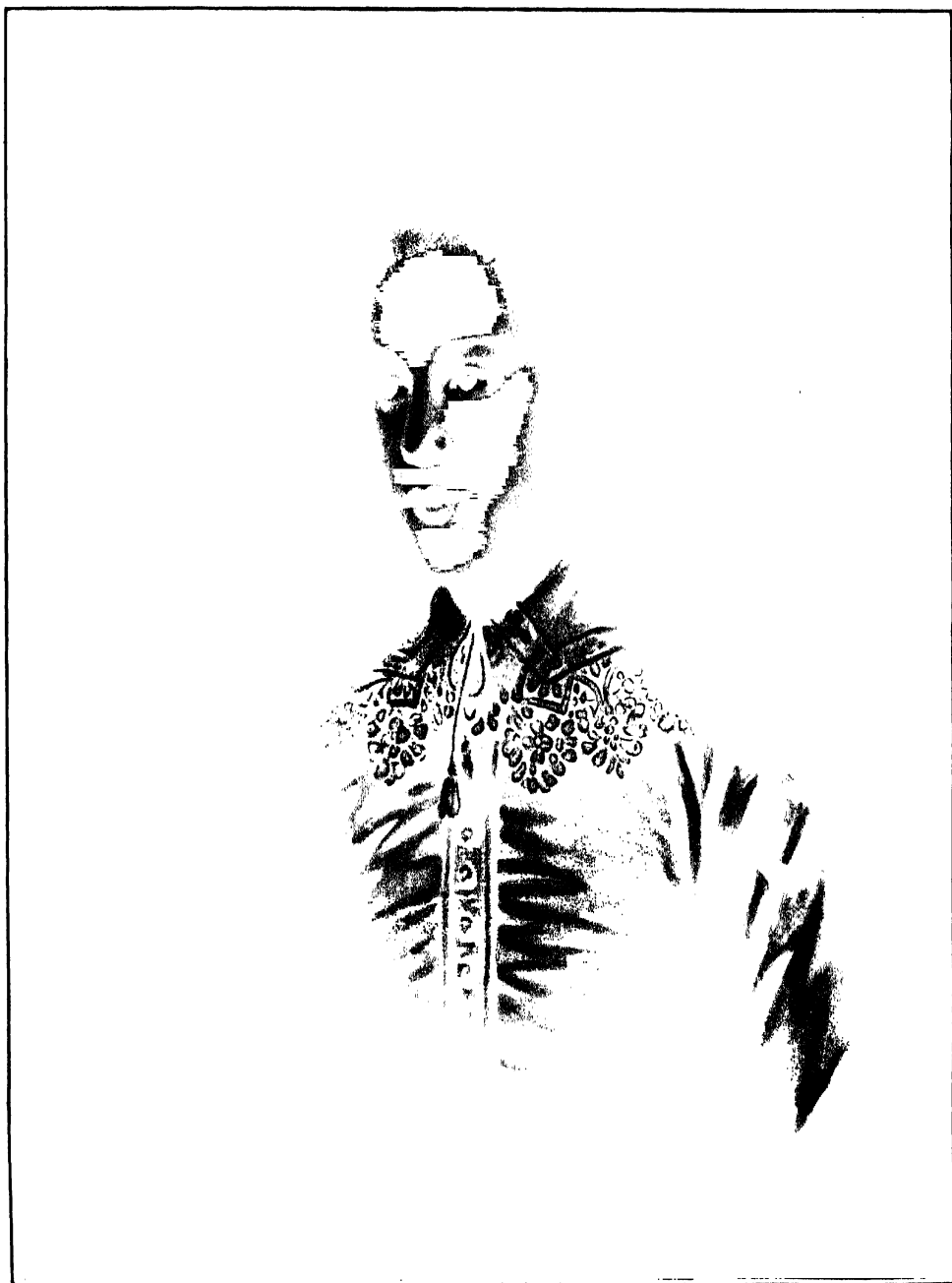
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ROBERT POTT

From a painting by George Romney
By the courtesy of the owner
The Rev. Alfred Percivall Pott.

Bob Pott.⁽¹⁾

MANY of Bob Pott's contemporaries mentioned below need no introduction to readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*, who will form their own opinion as to the light that his letters to Sir Elijah Impey throw on Bob's personality.

Robert Percivall Pott was born on 19th January, 1756, son of Percivall Pott (1713-1788), the famous surgeon of "Bart's" (2) and his wife Sarah, daughter of Robert Cruttenden.

The surgeon's father, Percivall Pott, a scrivener or notary of Threadneedle Street, had married Mrs. Houlblon (the young widow of a naval officer killed in action) who had one daughter by her first husband, and was related to the then Bishop of Rochester. He, the Houlblons and others had helped the notary's wife when she was again left a widow in 1717, and had seen that her son had a good education, while the younger Percivall's influential connections had helped him until his own professional reputation and his sterling character made him many powerful friends.

He attended Dr. Johnson; and Warren Hastings, Lord Thurlow, the Duke of Newcastle and other very important people were always willing to do all they could for the surgeon and his children. Mrs. Pott's uncle, Edward Holden Cruttenden, (3) after various vicissitudes, was a Director of the East India Company from 1765 to 1771, and was thus able to help his nephews.

On July, 18th, 1765, Mr. Pott wrote from Watling Street to the Duke of Newcastle's chaplain saying:

"My boy, whom his Grace the Duke of Newcastle at your request was so kind as to intend to make a Charter-house Scholar, has taken such a dislike to letters and such a liking to be a sailor that I thought I ought not to resist him."

(1) This article is based to a great extent on parts of a book (MS.) on Percivall Pott and his sons.

(2) Percivall Pott (1713-1788). Senior Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1749-1787. Author of several surgical treatises; his name being particularly connected with a fracture of the tibia. There is a portrait of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds in St. Bartholomew's Hospital; a mezzotint, which is very rare, was scraped by Charles Townly and published in Berlin in 1784.

(3) Edward Holden Cruttenden. Married Elizabeth Jedderie, 7 April 1746. Second in Council, Fort William, 1753 to 1755; dismissed from the Company's service; Director of the Company, 1765-1771. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXV, p. 113, and vol. XXXVI, p. 143.

The Charter-house education not being calculated for a seaman, I would by no means be the occasion of its being thrown away ; and I therefore must beg the favor of you to present my most humble and most grateful compliments to his Grace with all possible thanks for his intended kindness, and to assure him that I shall always retain a just sense of it." (Newcastle Letters : British Museum, MS. Dept., vol. CCLXXXII, 32963, folio 164).

It was on or about 27th August 1769, that William Hickey first met Robert Pott in Canton, who had been " shipped as a *Guinea Pig* (4) on board the *Cruttenden*, so called after a brother of Mrs. Pott's, who was in the India Direction, and principal owner of that and other vessels of the Company." He had gone to sea by his own choice.

In the latter end of April 1770 Hickey dined with the Pott family in Lincoln's Inn Fields, meeting amongst others Robert's elder brother.

In 1772 Pott returned from China and called on William Hickey in St. Albans Street, Robert was greatly disgusted with Captain (William) Baker (5) of the *Cruttenden* whose servile behaviour to himself he described. " 'And thus,' added he, ' ends my career as mate of an Indiaman, for never more will I set my foot on board ship in that capacity.' " Upon which I, (writes Hickey) " asked what he intended to do in the future. His reply was : ' Curse me if I know, William, not having yet given it a thought. The old boy (his father) must carve out something dashing for me '."

The solution was found in a writership on the Bengal Establishment.(6) and in January 1773, Joseph Holden Pott told Hickey that Robert had departed for Calcutta, being then at Portsmouth on board the *Houghton*, windbound. He arrived in Calcutta on 18th October 1774.

In November 1777, Robert was living in Mr. Richard Barwell's(7) house with three friends. Apparently about three years after his appointment as Assistant to the Revenue Council at Murshidabad Pott had wanted to go home on the grounds of ill health. This must have been on August 24th 1777, when he had asked for leave to go home and to return afterwards. On 4th September Pott asked for permission to rejoin his appointment, and on the 15th was told that he had been permitted to resign the Service and to proceed to England. (8) In January 1778, Pott told Hickey that family affairs made his presence in England indispensable ; and in February he embarked in the *Ceres*.

On July 2nd, 1780 in London, on returning home from a party Hickey found a note awaiting him from Emily Warren (or Bertie or Coventry or Pott) with whose life story that of Robert Pott is inextricably bound up. She was

(4) *Guinea Pig*, slang. A nickname given to midshipmen or apprentices on board Indiamen in the 18th century.

(5) Capt. William Baker. 3rd Mate, *Cruttenden*, season 1762-63; 2nd mate, 1765-1766; Captain, 1768-69 and 1770-71.

(6) Court Minutes, 27 November 1772.

(7) Richard Barwell, then Member of the Supreme Council. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, vol. XXX, p. 227 and vol. XXXV, p. 60 (portraits of him and his son).

(8) *Press Lists of the Public Dept. Records*, 1748-1800, vol. IX, pp. 319-20.

perhaps the most beautiful girl of her time. In or before 1776 Charlotte Hayes was one day walking in London when she met a blind beggar whose little daughter was leading him by the hand. Struck by the loveliness of the child Mrs. Hayes stopped the pair, questioned them and found out that their name was Bertie, and she never rested until she had begged, borrowed or bought the child. Charlotte kept a house of ill-fame in King's Place and she was the mistress of "Count" Dennis O'Kelly, the owner of Eclipse. In 1778 Robert Pott was at home when Emily, already notorious, was on her way to join her then lover, Mr. Warren, and to proceed with him to Ireland. Pott's servants pursued her and persuaded Emily to return with them and to put herself under the protection of their master. She had become well known in Dublin and "Emily Coventry comes back from Ireland" had been a piece of news in the *Morning Post* of 4th March, 1776.

The Court of Directors, being very desirous of conferring some mark of their favour upon Pott, appointed him to be a supernumerary Member of the Revenue Council at Murshidabad, but, if a vacancy in the Council should happen before his arrival at Fort William, then Pott was to fill such vacancy, and not be a supernumerary of Council. He had also been promised by the Court of Directors the succession to the Residency at the Court of the Nawab of Bengal. (9)

In the note left by Emily's servant in St. Albans, Street, she had enclosed a letter from Bob who had to embark for Bengal and asked Hickey to look after Emily in his absence. Of her, William Hickey writes: "Never did I behold so perfect a beauty," and he adds that Sir Joshua Reynolds "had painted Emily's portrait many times and in different characters." Pott's ship had been taken by the Spaniards and after a short captivity Robert had returned to England. In February he told Hickey that he had arranged to sail for India in six or seven weeks with Emily in the *Lord Mulgrave*. Up to the time of their departure Hickey was as much as possible with Pott and Emily and often they spent three or four days at March's, the Windmill, Salt Hill, where Major George Russell, (10) who had gambled away a fortune of upwards of forty thousand pounds, also often went.

In March 1781, Fany Burney spent the day with Miss Palmer, Reynolds's niece, and wrote in her diary: "Sir Joshua is preparing for the exhibition

(9) Court's Despatches to Bengal, 14 April 1779, 3 February 1780, and 31 May 1781.

(10) George Russel. (1742/43-1827) Lieut. General. Colonel 13th N. I. b. 1742/43. Cadet 1767. Admitted 29 Jan. 1767. Ensign 29 Jan. 1767. Lieut. 3 Apr. 1769. Capt. 2 Apr. 1777. Major 7 Apr. 1781. Lt.-Col. 1 Mar. 1794. Col. 30 Oct. 1797. Maj. Gen. 1 Jan. 1805. Lt. Gen. 4 June 1813. d. George St., Portman Sq., London, 6 Dec. 1827, aged 84. m. (?). His dau. Georgina m. Sir Daniel Elliott, K.C.S.I., M.C.S., 19 Dec. 1818 and d. 16 Feb. 1874. *Services*: "Acquired a very handsome fortune by building the Barrackpore barracks and other public edifices." (*Hickey*) Supt. of Works at Berhampore 1771-4. Resigned 30 Dec. 1774; readmitted 20 Feb. 1783. Supt. of Works at Berhampore 1783-4. Major comdg. 13th Bn. Sepoys in July 1787; posted to 1st Bde. Sepoys 20 Nov. 1787; to 6th do 2 Nov. 1793; to 5th do 25 Jan. 1794. Third Mysore War; 2nd in comd. of Bengal detachment under Lt.-Col. John Cockerell. Posted as Col. to 13th N.I.; to 3rd N.I.; to 20th N.I. 1804; to 13th N. I. 1805-17. Fur. 21 Dec. 1803 till death. (Information supplied by Major V. Hodson).

.....a Thais,(11) for which a Miss Emily, a celebrated courtesan, sat at the desire of the Hon. Charles Greville." It is said that Emily at one time was Greville's mistress as was Emma Hart whom he sold to his uncle, Sir William Hamilton. Emily sat only for the head of Thais. In the spring of 1781 Romney also painted three quarter lengths of Pott and Emily respectively. The painter also began another portrait of Emily but he never finished it and eventually cut out the head, which he gave to his pupil, Isaac Pocock. (12)

The *Morning Chronicle* of Thursday, May 24th, 1781, says: "On Monday morning, one Bertie, a blind man who has subsisted for many years by the mendicant profession, was found dead at his lodgings in Rosemary Lane." This was almost certainly Emily's father and Pott and Emily may have had a daughter who lived with her grandfather. Bertie is probably the old man with a grandchild mentioned by Pott in one of his letters. It was perhaps nearly at the end of February, 1781 that Percivall Pott asked Hickey to come to his home in Hanover Square and said: "The unthinking boy has taken that infamous and abandoned woman, Emily, who has already involved him deeply as to pecuniary matters, with him to India, a step that must not only shut him out of all proper society, but prevent his being employed in any situation or respect or emolument." Mr. Pott added that Bob had started off with Emily in the *Lord Mulgrave*. The same day Hickey had a letter from Robert, wind-bound at Portsmouth, who told him that "the old buck", meaning his father, had even applied to the Court of Directors and that they had rebuked Captain James Urmston for giving Emily a passage.

All readers of Hickey's *Memoirs* will remember his love affair with Charlotte Barry and that after their many adventures the ship which had brought them from Ceylon anchored in Madras Roads. This was on 21st March, 1783, "At Madras", writes Hickey, "I heard much of my friend Bob Pott, who, with his lovely favourite, Emily, had made a considerable stay there." The men had never beheld so beautiful a woman as Emily, and even the women admitted her extraordinary beauty of face and person. This was about eleven months after the arrival in April, 1782 of Pott and Emily in Madras.

On Hickey's and Charlotte's voyage to Calcutta in June 1783 the *Tortoise* anchored off Culpee. "In approaching this dreary spot," says Hickey, "I observed in the midst of the jungle a beautiful column, apparently of stone. Enquiring what this could be in so desolate and wild a place I was informed that the seafaring people had christened it Pott's Folly." William and Charlotte arrived at Pott's house about five miles from Calcutta on 30th June 1783 and there they heard all the details of the tragedy that had befallen Robert, who received Charlotte on his arrival and when she stayed at his home, Pott's Gardens, he treated her with the utmost respect and kindness though he had known her in England and knew also that she had a "past".

(11) See frontispiece of vol. III. of Hickey's *Memoirs*, and *Bengal : Past and Present*, vol. XXV, p. 107 et Seq.

(12) Isaac Pocock (1762-1835). *Painter and Dramatist*.



EMILY POTT
From a painting by George Romney
By courtesy of
Messrs. Spink and Sons, Ltd.

Major Russell had left England with Pott and Emily but he had transferred to another ship ; and George Cruttenden, (13) Robert's first cousin, had come out with him. Pott had picked up on the voyage, Thomas Trant, whom he had persuaded to become his secretary ; and on July 7th, 1783 Mr. Ley, second mate of the *Chesterfield*, came to Pott's house, gave up his profession and simply lived upon Pott.

From Mr. Trant Hickey heard about Emily's death off Kulpi in May 1782 as described in the *Memoirs*. Emily, says Hickey, was interred in the burial ground of Calcutta, where "Pott caused a magnificent mausoleum to be constructed over the grave by the Italian architect and employed the same Tiretta to build the column before mentioned, amongst herds of tigers at Culpee."

Captain Moyle Sherer, (14) author of *Sketches in India*, was in Calcutta in 1818 or 1819 and he saw what was evidently a portrait of Emily. He writes : " In the cabinet of a portrait painter in Calcutta is one which must often, I should think, awaken a sigh in such of our fair countrywomen as look on it. It is somehow naturally associated with beauty and with sorrow. With beaver hat and clustering ringlets, marking the costume of some forty years gone by, from a damaged canvas in a dull-worn frame, looks upon you a face of such soft loveliness that you feel no surprise when told it is of a devoted and tender mistress, who left the country of which she was the flower and came with her protector here ; still less that she drooped and died upon this sickly shore. On a tufted knoll (near the mouth of the river she entered only as a corpse) stands the small tomb which love, grief and repentance have raised to her memory. ' Would on its stalk I'd left the rose,' must often, often, have been silently uttered in the bosom of the sorrowing survivor, as busy memory recalled to him the first moment when he gazed upon the beauteous bud as it smiled in blushing innocence on its parent stem." Mr. Trant informed Hickey that Pott had at first suffered severely at the sudden and unexpected loss of his favourite Emily, but that the violence of his grief was not of long duration. " At the time of my arrival (1783) in Bengal," writes Hickey, "he certainly appeared to be in excellent health and high spirits."

The Letters of Robert Percivall Pott to Sir Elijah Impey (British Museum : *Additional Manuscripts 16,264, correspondence in India*, Volume VI, 1783, folios 124-166) were presented to the British Museum by Elijah Barwell Impey,

(13) George Cruttenden (1767-1822). Bt. Major. 7th N. I. Subsequently a merchant in Calcutta. b. London 1767. Cadet 1781. Ensign 29 June 1781. Lieut. 2 Oct. 1782. Capt. 4 Jan. 1801. Bt. Major 25 Apr. 1808. Resigned 5 Aug. 1809. d. Macao, China, 23 Mar. 1822. bapt. St. Martin's, Ludgate, 9 Jan. 1768. Grandson of Robert Cruttenden (d. 1763), accountant of the Penny P.O. Winchester scholar 1778; left in 1780. *Services*: Apptd. Cadet on 9 Apr. 1781 (when he gave his age as 15). Sailed for India on the *Lord Mulgrave* 26 June 1781 (when he gave his age as 14). Capt. Lt. 7th N. I. Capt. 2/7th N. I. Comdg. Moradabad Provl. Bn. 1804-6; comdg. Patna Provl. Bn. in 1806; comdg. Dacca Provl. Bn. 1807 till resignation. He subsequently joined the firm of Cruttenden, Mackillop & Co. (formerly Downie & Co.). Calcutta agents and merchants. (Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834*). See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXV, p. 113, XXVIII, p. 155, and vol. XXXV, p. 183.

(14) Capt. Moyle Sherer. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXXII, p. 63.

son of Sir Elijah Impey, who endorsed some of them with caustic notes. In the extracts given here Pott's own spelling and punctuation have been followed.

In one of his letters (folio 152) to Sir Elijah Impey, written in 1783, Pott says: "On my arrival the 26 day of May 1782 I waited upon the Governour. He received me more than politely, His behavio(u)r was friendly. His words were, 'He was ever inclined to be my friend, That now he had the power to be so which at the time of my leaving the country and 4 years prior he from circumstances had not. That he loved my father.' I now gave him a letter from Lawrence Sulivan (15) given to me by that gentleman voluntarily—One from Lord North given by him to my father—One from Lord Hillsbro'(16) whose desire to serve me induced him to write to the Governour tho' he never before had, And knew him not he therefore wrote in his public capacity of First Secretary of state and intimated that he thought he might presume on that station to ask a favour for a very old friends son—An old friend who had done so much for society in his profession that his family ought to be the care of Society at large—Another from Lord Thurlow who never ask'd favour before for his nearest relation and who long withstood my most urgent solicitations which I hinged on this—That Mr. H. could not be more my friend and that I know a letter from his lordship would so gratify him that he would ever think himself under obligations to me for obtaining it. Another from MacPhearson (17) requested by Lord Thurlow and order'd to be written by Lord North. Another from Stephen Lushington(18) merely to tell Mr. H. that had I been a retained agent I could not have discover'd more zeal for his government or more personal attachment. Another from Mr. Robinson(19) by desire of Lord Thurlow thro' Lord North. Mr. H. smiled, And told me 'Mr. Pott you have put yourself to a great deal of trouble in procuring all these lettters, But I am sorry to miss one which would well have supplied the place of them all, Among them I do not find one from my best friend your father, for whose sake I would do as much as for all the letters in the world, Not but those who have written have a claim upon me, A claim I must and will listen to, for I am under obligations to them, Rest satisfied I will serve you—I cannot at the moment tell you in what, But you shall be served for your own sake much as for

(15) Lawrence Sulivan. Director of the East India Company, 1755-1758, 1760-61, 1763, 1765, 1769, 1772-73, 1778, 1780-81, 1782. Deputy Chairman, 1757, 1763, 1773, 1780. Chairman, 1758-1761, 1781. Died, 1786. He submitted to Lord North a plan of government for India advocating extraordinary powers for the Governor (1772).

(16) Lord Hillsborough. Secretary of State for the Colonies.

(17) John Macpherson (1745-1821) (Bart., 1786) Member of the Supreme Council, 1781-5, and 1786-7. Governor-General from Feb. 1785 to Sept. 1786. See *Bengal: Past and Present* vol. XXXVI, p. 1 *et seq.*

(18) Stephen Lushington. A Director of the East India Company, 1782-1802. Deputy Chairman, 1789. Chairman, 1790, 1795 and 1799. Baronet, 1791. He criticized Edmund Burke with great bitterness. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XLI, p. 180.

(19) John Robinson (Secretary of the Treasury, 1770-82), who concerted with the Chairman of the East India Company the political part of the despatches and correspondence under the immediate inspection of the Prime Minister.

your letters, you know I was your friend from the first moment of your arrival.' "

"On my first arrival in this country," writes Pott (folio 126) "my prospects were the most flattering—I had everything to hope from your Patronage to which your kind reception encouraged me, The Strong recommendation I brought to Mr. Hastings—The friendship I had heard him avow for my father, and the active part I knew I had taken to remove any prejudices his enemies had taken no small pains to impress people at home with—whenever opportunity offered raised my expectations of support from him. For several Gentlemen voluntarily pledged themselves to inform Mr. H. of the part I had ever taken S. Lushington,—Sullivan and Captain Toon(20) in particular, With these hopes before me I delay'd not one moment after my arrival in this country to remit home sums which some of my friends had generously supported me with to set me off from Europe, And anticipated my good fortune so far as to send home a handsome sum for the support of a near relation in distress. And endeavour'd to express my gratitude to my supporters in England by sending them some presents the produce of this country. This added to a ten weeks expensive residence at Madrass—a seven weeks residence at St. Helena, a large sum due to the captain I came out with an accountt of my accommodation, Has loaded me with debts to men who seeing me thus long neglected have taken alarm and begun to render my life a burthen to me by their incessant dunning and put me in dread of some disgraceful consequences, Nor can I, Nor I trust will you my dear Sir condemn me in thus hastily involving myself, An Uncle with two fine daughters who once lived in affluence, but are thro a reverse of fortune distress'd were surely striking objects for my attention. A poor old man with an Orphan his Granddaughter have been these four years supported by me nor could I now desert them. The friends who were most forward to assist me with money in England I know could ill afford to spare it nor could I in honour suffer them to experience inconvenience as a return for their uncommon liberality to me. Thus acting as I thought right I have reduced myself to a most mortifying situation, But could no way foretel or guard against it, Relying on your Patronage and convinced that Mr. H. knew early my sincere attachment to him, Strongly recommended to him—And as positively assured by him of his good intentions towards me I look'd to some permanent and material support, But after Nine months residence in this Extravagant city find myself Unsupported—Unassisted—Without hopes or prospects. And plunged in debts."

On November 25th, 1782 Pott wrote to the Governor-General in Council saying that he had expected to have arrived in Bengal in about December 1780, but had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards and had only managed to reach

(20) Sweny Toone. Cadet (Bengal) 1765 ; Lieut. 1766 ; Captain, 1769 ; Major, 1781 ; Lieut.-Colonel, 1785 ; Resigned, 28 January 1785 ; Director, East India Company. 1780 to 1830 ; Died 2 November 1835. First Commandant of the Governor-General's Body Guard. See Hodson's *Historical Records of the Viceroy's Bodyguard*, and *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXXV, p. 93.

Bengal in May, 1782. The Provincial Council of Murshidabad had, however, been abolished, but Pott was allowed to draw the salary and allowances he would have received by his rank in the Provincial Council had it still continued. (21) Pott wrote (folio 124) to Sir E. Impey : " It gives me the most sincere pleasure to hear that Lady Impey is so much recover'd—I did myself the pleasure of calling on you the evening I went out of town—I return'd last night and found a letter from my younger brother (Rev. J. H. Pott) and as there is a passage in it which I am sure will give you pleasure tho' doubtless it contains a truth no (t) news to you I will transcribe it. Lord Thurlow continues the admiration of all parties and carries everything before him in his usual irresistible manner—his influence with all men is immense—all eyes are on him and since the death of the Marquis (Rockingham) (22) all hopes center'd in him. My brother however is as partial a man as myself—for he continues that his Lordship has presented him to a living far b(e)yond his most sanguine hopesBut ' the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' I wish to God sir I had been a parson : As it is I am only a mendicant. Or a Lawyer for my father tells me that Lord Thurlow seems resolved to take up where the parents part ends—For that he had given his Children education and their choice of Walk in life with a sum of money to enter them in it—And that his Lordship has done all the rest for that he has patroniz'd my you(n)gest Brother and order'd that he be put to a special pleader with a promise that if he lives he will take Care of him...I have Dreamt (folio 124) of salt Agencies...so powerful is fancy...till upon my honour I am under the apothecaries hands for the scurvy...It was a Radshy fever that prepared my system to catch the contagion...I am fast approaching (folio 128) the brink of a horrible scrape,...Last July a man, by name Gearrey Bobbu (Babu?) was brought to me by a Sircar of mine, who had induced him previously to lend me 10,000 current rupees. The half was paid, and bond passed for the whole. On demanding the other half Mr. Gearrey insisted on my admitting him as my Master or Banyan, to this I would not accede.....Geerey thought himself ill used, held back the remaining moiety—complained to Mr. Hyde, And in the upshot finding he could not either force me to take him as Banyan nor withhold the cash paid me with curses and went away vowing vengeance. Gearrey is a most malicious turbulent fellow and has played the Devil with two (or) three poor Companys servants who he whilom fed. He knows my situation and already chews the cud of revenge. He enjoys the fast approach of the fated hour when my inability to refund will put me in his power. For Burdwan bred her birds in vain for me! And as soon could I defray the expenses of the unfortunate Carlos at Gibberalter as pay Geerey his ten thousand rupees the first of July...I have already done more than Neckar, Sartine, North Hazard & Co., Sharman & Co., the Baron Ripperda, the Duc de Sully, all put together. But in this affair unless you my dear Sir will interfere I am quite gravelled and would defy even old Handcock to extricate me, A Hindoo Sir is a sad—enemy, . . . The Bearer Sir was the Jackal—who

(21) Bengal Revenue Consultations, 24 January 1783.

(22) Marquis Rockingham. Prime Minister, 1782. Died 1 July 1782.

brought the condign Geeree to me." (Note by Mr. E. B. Impey: "There must have been some strange misconduct in this man to counteract the powerful recommendations he appears to have had.") In a further letter, Pott writes: "In a few days (folio 130) my situation will be very different from what I hoped your—Lord Chancellor's—And Mr. Hastings's patronage would have placed me in. The complainant Heralol has regularly received his interest tho the sum was but only 8 months ago. He lives by moneylending—Is a Shroff—and only calls on me cause in common with all the natives he thinks I am a man Mark'd not to be served, Let me entreat you Sir to prevent my going to prison during this month for I am really seriously out of health, . . . I have not had one hundred rupees these 7 months nor can I pay one."

In a letter (folio 132) written from "Gardens, June 18th (1783) 8 p.m." Pott again asks Impey to speak to Hastings about his affairs. E. B. Impey has added a note to the next letter (folio 134). "The signature is accidentally torn from this letter, but the handwriting and style leave no doubt that the writer is Pott. In this epistle Robert says that during a conversation at which he was present on the previous day it was asserted that Mr. Heselridge (23) had the promise of Mr. Woods with respect to one of the salt agencies and that, if Sir Elijah felt obliged to help Mr. Heselridge to the appointment, Pott begged to release him from his promise to himself. He adds: "My friends in London I have prepared to hear of my being in rather a disgraceful predicament. . . . The support I stand in need of requires much short of *the whole weight of ministerial influence* to obtain all my wishes tend to, And whatever doubts Mr. S. may have planted in others minds of my patron not being in earnest in mine he has planted none I know Lord Thurlow To sport with so insignificant a thing as I am could never be the intentions of Mr. Hastings. . . . My future destiny I shall leave to chance, While my father and Lord Thurlow live I shall not want friends or support at home, . . . The height of my views will easy be obtain'd, a small pittance will enable me to return to England for the complaint which forced me home in 77 will not long permit my stay in a hot climate, which circumstance now and then renders me anxious and unhappy." Pott continues in folio 135: "In consequence of the conversation you were so kind to communicate to me the other evening and the advice you were so very good to give me I went to Mr. Wheelers (24) and thanked him for the friendly disposition he had displayed to you in my favour, His reception of me was exceedingly polite and friendly, . . . And (I) have since thought much on the matter the utility of which to me in my present situation

(23) Arthur Heselridge, *qft* Sir A. H. Arrived as Writer, 18 Oct. 1773; Asst. under the Persian Translator, 1774; Asst. to the Council of Revenue, Dinajpur, 1775; Senior Merchant and Assistant at Birbhum, 1788; First Asst. to Collector and Registrar to Judge at Birbhum, 1790; Collector of Jessore, 1794; Died, 28 July 1804, at Lucknow. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XIV, pp. 46, 68. In the British Museum are some letters to Impey from Heselridge. In one, he writes—"To you I owe my all. Surrounded by troubles you have taken me by the hand and extricated me from my troubles. You have restored me from that state of care and anxiety to which I have been so long a prey Belvedere, 28 July 1783." (*Addl MSS.*, 16,264, Impey Papers).

(24) Edward Wheler. Member of the Supreme Council. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, pp. 214-215.

will be infinite, For tho it will be attended with no immediate emolument till October or November my being appointed to succeed to Mr. Ducarrel (25) will quiet the minds of those I owe sums to and remove an idea which has of late prevailed among the black men that I am given up by my patrons, If therefore Sir this can be finally done before Mr. Hastings leaves Calcutta for Chinsura I should esteem myself materially befriended, And in the present good disposition of Mr. Wheeler and Stables (26) at a time when I have so recently been forced to expose the distress of my present situation to the Governour I should imagine my dear Sir little difficulty will attend it if you will induce Mr. Wheeler or Stables to bring it forward, Unless Mr. Hastings means to do it himself in which Case I should vastly prefer his alone conducting it with them the appointment being his own planning and patronage of it thro him. Since I scribbled the above I have received your kind note Whatever may be the result at least my vanity will be fully gratified in the recollection of my having enjoy'd your friendship and support—I feel myself eased of a burthen in the affair of Geerree, But I know his character and cannot be quite at rest till my dear Sir you carry this point one step further for me to the inducing him to renew his bond for 6 months if you are not averse to more trouble in it." . . . (A modest request! E.B.I.). "Matters are now closed," writes Pott in f. 136: "And 'of the things which in (a) few days was be given away and then I was to have one' I now have found out is not in these provinces but in the Island of Utopia. For the scene is closed—All are finally disposed of. Touchet (27) has the 24 pergunnahs. And the curtain is let fall. Nought now remains but the Farce which will begin with a prison scene and the melancholy air of 'Trust not man for he'll deceive ye' with a new accompaniment of *Salt boxes, Post hornes and Radshy double Bass, A Dance of Bailiffs and their Bums. And a Grand finale exhibition of Writs—Sequestrations—Extents, Captions, An Antic dance of Vexations, Fevers, and Despair finishing with a Triumphal entry of Mr. Oldham (28) with his Mutes, and Attendants—So ends Lord Thurlows patronage. So ends The Governour General's personal friendship—So ends Macphearson's gratitude to Lord North—And so let it end in the name of God. But my dear Sir in order to eat till this Farce begins I have let my house on a lease of a year and unless you my dear Sir can so far stand my friend as to induce Major Burrington(29) to think*

(25) Gerard Gustavus Ducarrel. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLIX, p. 100.

(26) John Stables. Succeeded Francis as Member of Council in 1782 and held office until 1787. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 13, note 27, Vol. XXXIX, p. 171, Vol. XL, p. 70, and XLIV, p. 11.

(27) Peter Touchet. Arrived as Writer, 12 November 1779; Assistant to Commercial Resident at Beaulah, 1782; Contractor for repairing the pools of Lushkerpur, and Superintendent of Collections of the Twenty-four Parganas, 1783; Junior Merchant and Commercial Agent at Radhanagar, 1788; Resigned the Service and returned to Europe, 1803. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 148.

(28) Samuel Oldham. Undertaker. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 63.

(29) George Burrington. Colonel, Infantry. Transfd. as Capt. from H.M.S. 1 Sept. 1768. Major 1780. Lt. Col. 23 June 1783. Col. 7 Dec. 1793. d. 26 Oct. 1794: kld. in action at the battle of Bitaurah, nr. Bareilly. m. Dunnichen, co. Forfar, 3 Oct. 1776, Helen, 3rd dau. of John Dempster, of Dunnichen. His grand-dau. m. Thomas D'Oyly, Relative of Thomas

one Wing large enough for him and my being in the other no objection I must go the Lord knows where and have all my furniture broken to the detriment of Mr. Greeree Bobbu whose Bond for 11,000 rupees is due the 1st of July and who has promised faithfully to take it all off my hands. . . . A gentleman (folio 137) has just left me who asserts that letters were received in town of as late date as January 7, (30) bringing accounts which have alarmed me to despair—He says tis asserted that they bring news of Lord Cornwallis being appointed to the Chair Lord Melsham 2d. And I have forgot who third—And another gentleman last night confidently asserted that he had seen a letter from Lord Maccartney (31) or his family intimating that he had news of his being appointed to succeed Mr. H. I further am told that Mr. H. and Mr. W. were remarkable dull and out of spirits this morning to a degree to be observed by many. Pray my dear Sir what part of this do you credit—Or has there been letters of so late a date received." . . .

"In my letter of last night," writes Pott (f. 139) . . . "I did not mention that Mr. Bathurst (32) had the Superintendence of the collections of Caullion Sings (33) District which makes 27. A Poll Tax on Lascars and Register of their names Mr. Forbes, (34) 28. But I may add. List of things which might have been given. . . . Mint of Lucknow and Benares—Collections of Pautchuttera of Benares 29. Or to keep a man from the horrible study of ways and means till something better did offer. Collector of Beerboom. Collector of 3 Districts one whereof is Sassaram 31.

"And as Scawens (35) appointment into non existant records hath opened a new avenue I think it might have been extended a little in favour of other

Whinyates. *Services*: 1st Bengal Eur. Bn. and comdg. at Monghyr in 1790. Second Rohilla War; Bitaurah (kld.); Col. comdg. the Reserve. Memorial Inscription in St. John's churchyard Calcutta. (Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army*, 1758-1834).

(30) ? Jany. or Jan. 7. It can be read either way.

(31) Lord Macartney. Governor of Madras, 1781-1785. Declined the Governor-Generalship, February 1785. See *Bengal: Past and Present* vol. XLIV, p. 22.

(32) Robert Bathurst. Son of the Hon. Benjamin Bathurst and Catharine, his wife, born 7 November 1754, at Mixbury, Oxford. Arrived as Writer, 30 July 1772; Factor and Assistant under the Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Oudh, 1777; Junior Merchant and Assistant at Lucknow, 1782; Senior merchant and Superintendent of Collections of Maharajah Kalyan Singh, 1783; Collector of a Division in Subah Behar, 1784; Collector at Patna, afterwards Collector Judge and Magistrate of Tirhut, 1787; Second Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit, Murshidabad Division, 1793; Proceeded to Europe, 1793; Returned, and without employment, 1799; Military Paymaster-General, 1801; Superintendent of Salt Department in the Ceded Districts, 1801; Collector of Customs at Farrukhabad, 1804; Commercial Resident at Etawah and Kulpi, 1808; Resigned 18 December 1811, and returned to Europe.

(33) Maharaja Kalyan Singh, *Naib Diwan* of Bihar.

(34) James Forbes. Clerk to Sir Elijah Impey. Marine Registrar, 1783. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXX, p. 162.

(35) John Scawen. Appointed an assistant in the office of the Commissary-General (Court's Despatch to Bengal, 17 May 1780, para. 2); arrived July 1782; subsequently Auditor-General of the accounts of the Troops serving out of the Province, (January 1784); Deputy Commissary-General, (June 1785); Commissary-General, (February 1786). Permitted to proceed to Europe for two years, (21 February 1786); returned (25 September 1788), and took charge of the office of Deputy Military Auditor-General; Military Auditor-General in 1797.

men of mark and merit—and which I so much depended on that I had the following plans prepared with suitable episode preface and narrative. . . .

"Commission for enquiring into the original causes of the imperceptible and natural decrease of the manufactories of Bengal Bahar and Orixá with efficient reasons to be collected why they can never be revived

"Commission for enforcing Polygamy being restricted to numbers proportioned to the Age, Complexion, stature and natural real demand of the man that by a political and critical allotment of wives the terrible effects of the late famine which depopulated the country to the vast detriment of its manufactures, and agriculture may be repa(i)red and the fair sex placed on a more equal footing. This plan I in some degree have borrowed from one on foot now in old Spain for the abolition of a number of religious houses where multitudes of beautiful fair are either unemploy'd or bashful of producing the effects of their labours.

"A Committee consisting of a Chairman with two thousand White and six thousand Mousulmaun deputies to review the donations and pledges made by many individuals to the Jagernaut and other Hindoo Temples.

"Contract for supplying our Army and the fleet and army on the coast with Grain on the following plan.

"A part of the Maulguzarry of the districts laying convenient to rivers to be paid in Grain the price whereof to be settled at the caprice of the contractor and delivered at Culpee (Kulpi) to the Company's Storekeeper at Culpee, who is to be put in to that post by the Contractor, at the price the contractor thinks handsome—To be weighed and measured by a proper person on the spot before tis sent off to Culpee, and that person to be appointed by the contractor, who is to take care that he sends ample weight. The Contractor to have only an establishment of a Battalion of Seapoys with black officers—Peons, Hircarrahs—Dufterconnah—Boats Travelling expenses—House rent in each district in which he is to take up Corn and 50,000 rupees a year salary. The troops to be paid by him to ensure him their obedience.

"But my lucubrations are thrown to the ground by a short but terrible note from Mr Stark (36) which. . . .called my rambling thoughts from plans of wealth—to feel the real poverty of my situation. . . . I am, Dear Sir in vast dread of Durance." (This man dates none of his letters. I suppose he was only tolerated for his apparent connection with Thurlow. He may possibly have been a relation of the present Archdeacon Pott. E.B.I." (37) "Pardon my solicitude," writes Pott (f. 141) "in the affair of Geeree Bobbu, he haunts me in my sleep And torments my waking hours, To which my imagination received an additional feather in its wing by means of a short note the Messrs. Moresby and Fairfax(38) have just now sent me in behalf of a Tradesman who I must endeavour to sooth for pay. . . . I cannot for even

(36) Henry Stark. Deputy Sheriff of Calcutta. See *Bengal: Past and Present* vol. XXVI, p. 162.

(37) Yes, his brother.

(38) Fairfax Moresby. Attorney-at-law. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXX, pp. 96, 162.

the small salary the Company or rather board have given me is unpaid since my arrival nor can I obtain one rupee for it, Let me conjure you therefore my Dear Sir to use your Caduceus on the monster Geeree."

Before the arrival of Hickey and Charlotte at Pott's Gardens on June 30th 1783, Robert must have written some of his letters to Impey, as one of the earliest is dated June 10th. One of the later ones was written in August, before Hickey and Charlotte had moved into the house they had rented in Calcutta, and probably others were written in the same month but it does not appear that Hickey knew anything about them. Ten days before Hickey's arrival, Hastings had ordered that, as Pott was not likely to succeed to the office (Resident at the Court of the nawab) to which he was eventually ordered for a long time, he was to be assistant to Mr. Ducarel, Commissioner at Burdwan, and to succeed to the office as soon as vacant. Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherson agreeing to this, Pott was appointed accordingly on 20th June, 1783. (39)

Hickey fought a duel for which Pott lent him "a delicate pair of Wogdens" (40). When Hickey's black boy Nabob showed ingratitude Pott threw an immense encyclopaedia at Nabob's head. In July, 1783, Hickey's London hairdresser arrived and took up his abode at Pott's Gardens. Every evening Pott drove "Mrs Hickey" and William to the racecourse.

Pott wrote to Sir Elijah (in folio 143):

"My dearest Sir,

"My situation has long been a hard one, But tis now become a cruel one. Enclosed is the answer I have received from Mr Thompson (41) to a letter of mine in which I solicited him to request the governour to favour me so much as to order me the payment of the miserable pittance the board after six or eight months solicitation were pleased to grant me, it now amounts but to 8 or 9 thousand rupees but it is an Arrears of 13 months, I now know not what to do, I have received an answer from the trademan and if I do not procure his money I shall be arrested this day for a paltry sum by a little dirty silversmith, and besides shall have all my servants run away they not having been paid any wages these three months. . . . Mr. Fairfax and Moresby have orders to proceed and I shall be disgraced for a paltry sum of 900 rupees while the Company owe me 9,000 and individuals twice as much. I mean to write again to Thompson on the subject but if the Governour do's grant my request it must be 2 or 3 days first and in the interim I shall be disgraced, The Butcher even and Moodey have refused to send any more meat or Gram. I have asked Metcalf (42) for the small loan of 3,000 Rs. only till I

(39) Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1 July 1783.

(40) Wodgens. Duelling pistols. Wodgen was a pistol manufacturer. (*Calcutta Gazette*, 31 Oct. 1799).

(41) George Nesbitt Thompson, Private Secretary to Warren Hastings, 1783. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, pp. 181-182; Vol. XXX, p. 105. His letters have been printed in *extenso* in *Bengal: Past and Present*.

(42) Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, father of Baron Metcalfe. Agent for Military Stores. See *Hickey's Memoirs*, vol. III, p. 164. According to Hickey the post of Military Storekeeper was in those days the most lucrative in the Company's Service and Metcalfe "had attained it by most perseveringly courting the heads of Government."

do recover from the Company but was mortified with a refusal . . . Three thousand rupees will settle my accounts and keep all well till July or August but I cannot obtain it on the security of a Bill for 9,000 signed by Crofts. O! Tempora, O! Mores. Cannot you my dear Sir speak to some kind soul about whose heart a drop or two of the milk of human nature hangs to advance a man more sinned against than sinning so small a sum as three thousand till I can recover from the Company? If not 'shame on those who suffer it' and I must endure much for this little matter like the keystone wrung out of the Arch will bring the whole fabric down. I am Dear Sir very frightn'd and most attachedly, Your grateful Servant, R. P. Pott"

In the next letter (f. 145) Pott thanks Sir Elijah for his great kindness.

This letter from Edward Wheler (f. 147), presumably written to Impey, may have something to do with Pott's affairs: "I have made known the Contents of Mr. Ducarels Letter to the Govr Genrl, in consequence of which, he has mentioned the next Meeting of the Board, as the Time at which he will bring forward that Business:—Thursday eveng."

G. N. Thompson wrote to Pott:—

"Dear Pott,

"The Governor (folio 149) requests you will send your Bill to Mr. Croftes (43) tomorrow morning when it will be discharged—That your Sircar may not in mistake be dismissed without the money you had better send a Note by him to Mr. Croftes. The Governor feels that your Rank precludes you from the Benefit of Rooms in the Buildings . . . but says he will do what he can in Propriety to procure some for you . . . Yrs—G. N. Thompson."

Pott continues his letters to Sir E. Impey: "When I first arrived" (f. 150) "in this country I entertained so little doubt but that my own past conduct, And superior recommendations would ensure me a handsome appointment that I become the purchaser of the house I live in. Those dreams are now over, And tho I flatter myself *something* at some period of time will be done for me still 'twere rank folly in me to suppose that it will be a matter of any consideration, For at a time when I was in the most urgent style representing how ruinous a situation I was in living in Calcutta and borrowing all my expences at the usual enormous interest, Loading myself with debts which must destroy all my future plans gentlemen years my junior in rank . . . have had post heaped on post, . . . When Vansittart (44) was appointed to Nuddea his appointment were and had been upwards of a Laack a year considerably as salt comtrouler and agent for Ponies contracts. When the Boy Dent (45) Mr. Stables cousin of Four years standing in the Service was

(43) Charles Croftes. Associated with Hastings in forming the experimental English farm at Sooksagur. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXV, Pt. I., p. 148.

(44) Henry Vansittart. Comptroller of Salt Revenue. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 213, and Vol. XXX, pp. 94 and 221.

(45) William Dent. Arrived as Writer, 27 June 1776; Assistant to the Council of Revenue, Patna, 1778; Stationed at Buxar as Assistant to the Collector of Customs at Patna, 1782; Salt Agent at Tamluk, 1783; Senior Merchant holding the same position, 1788; Out of the Service in 1794.

appointment to Temluke (Tamluk) which is worth from 95 thousand to a lack and ten thousand he had never received since his arrival in the country less than 800 rupees a month and on Mr. Stables arrival had an appointment given him in addition of a thousand more, sure Sir this was pretty well for a man hardly a factor—Mr. Plowden (46) *had* the post office and Dauck bearers which is full 90 thousand . . . He is moved to Chittagong and Bulwah is joined to it which makes an appointment of 95000 to Let Mr. Bellie (47) in to the post office while Bellie *has* a contract for which he refused 75,000. Wombwell (48) *had* made his fortune, taken his passage—Had ever been of an adverse party to the Governor, behaved civil—and had an appointment given him unasked of at least 1 lack 60,000, let him and Bristowe (49) even disagree. Irwin (50) *Sold* Commercolly (Kumarkhali) to Taylour (51)—and then had Chittagong given him. What had I? A promise in May 82 that I should *succeed* to Burdwan in *October*. And that promise broke in October and *renewed* to *October* Twelvemonths, and what is Burdwan—70,000 rupees a year.” . . . Pott continues, saying that he writes : “In consequence of . . . being informed

(46) Henry Chicheley Plowden. Arrived as Writer, 18 October 1773; Assistant under the Secretary to Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1774; Superintendent of the Inferior Adalat to Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1775; also Postmaster-General, 1777; Factor and Post-master-General, 1779; Junior Merchant holding the same Office, 1782; Salt Agent for Chittagong and Bulloah, 1783; Senior Merchant, without employment, 1788; at home 1790, and returned to India, Collector of Customs at Murshidabad, 1794; at home, 1807; returned to India, 1811; Officiating Commercial Resident at Etawah and Kulpi, 1813; Salt Agent for Chittagong and Bulloah, 1817; Died in England, 12 January 1821. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 167-168.

(47) John Belli. Private Secretary to Warren Hastings. His appointment to be “agent for the supply of stores and provisions of Fort William with a commission of 30 per cent.” formed the subject of Article XV of the impeachment. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 152, and Vol. XLII, p. 87.

(48) John Wombwell. Arrived as Writer, 27 June 1776; Superintendent of Saltpetre manufacture at Dinajpur, 1777; Superintendent of Saltpetre and Opium manufacture in Purnea, 1778; Paymaster to the Nawab of Oudh's troops under British officers, 1779; Factor and Accountant at Lucknow, 1782; Senior Merchant, 1788 (at home).

(49) John Bristow. Arrived as Writer, 31 May 1769; Assistant in the Select Committee's Office, 1770; Deputy Persian Translator, 1771; Persian Translator to the Khalsa, 1773; Factor with the same Office, 1774; Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Oudh 1775; Senior Merchant, without employment, 1777; Senior Merchant and Resident at Lucknow, 1782; Member of the Board of Trade, Calcutta, 1788; Died in India 1802. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 150.

(50) James Irwin. Arrived as Writer, 16 July 1765; Assistant in Secretary's Office, 1766; Sub-Secretary and Assistant to Assay Master, 1768; Factor and Assistant at the Durbar to superintend the Min. 1770; Collector of Chunakhali, 1772; Junior Merchant, Collector of Chunakhali, and Superintendent of the Mint at Murshidabad, 1773. Resident at Kumarkhali factory under the Board of Trade, 1774; Senior Merchant holding the same office, 1776; Chief of Chittagong, 1782; At home and out of the Service, 1790. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XL, p. 69.

(51) John Taylor. Arrived as Writer, 30 July 1772, and employed as Assistant in the Secretary's Office; Persian Translator to Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1774; Assistant at Patna Factory, 1775; Factor with the same duties, 1777; Assistant to the President of the Board of Trade, 1779; Senior Merchant and Commercial Resident at Kumarkhali Factory, 1782; Commercial Resident at Dacca, 1790; Member of Board of Trade and Export Warehousekeeper, 1802; Died at sea in the *Bengal*, 1810.

that since the letter I had the honour to deliver you from Lord Thurlow, you had received another in which he asks you to support me, And I was anxious to show you how much I needed support, Something very very inferior will I think be done for me, And I have let my house to a good tenant, My friend Yeates (52) mentioned before me that you were an Attorney of Mr. R. Barwells and if the request is strictly proper I meant to ask leave to live in a wing of his house till this brilliant card turns up for me 'twill save me 600 rupees a month For as Mr. H. still promises me Burdwan—And that will be vacant in October or not at all I shall not willingly accept some little and perhaps unpleasant thing for that interval to put myself at large expence to remove hence to it and thence to Burdwan or in default to Calcutta. . . . Do you Sir Elijah think that the names I have quoted can chal(l)enge ought from Mr. H. in preference of me the following is their situation *when* the new appointments were given to them.

Dent—a factor—a Boy—a dull one—with 1900 Rs. a month.

Plowden—Rank near my own—with 90,000 a year.

Bellie—4 years—Friend of Mr. H. and have not I to the narrow extent of my ability ever proved myself so? Did not Sullivan—Lushington and Toon unasked vouch for me? Had I not been so would *Lord Thurlow* have written to Mr. H. and Bellie had 80,000 a year in one contract.

Irwin—as for his merit I profess I know it not. Mr. H. made a fuss about purchase and sale—the sale of Commercolly was notorious.

Mr. Ewart (53)—recommended by the Directors. Was not I?—nay preferd to an abolished office by them?

Wombwell—Philip Francis's dependent—So was not I."

After writing (folio 152) about his interview with Warren Hastings, Pott continues: "Months elapsed—nothing done—One packet sailed—I could write nothing—I contented myself with sending home presents without letters—You Sir push Mr. H. He sent for me renewed all his former promises authoriz'd me to write by the packet under dispatch to Lord Thurlow that I was to be served to the top of my wishes You applyed for the Beneres (Benares) Cutchchettera for me cause 'twas objectd that I was unserved only cause there was no avenue open to serve me through. I was sent for, was ordered to recur to the mode I was received in on our first interview—Was asked if 'twas not equal (folio 153) to anything I could expect—it was not friendly—I accceeded—To make my mind easy he then pointed out Burdwan, told me Ducarrel had written in his resignation would go in the first ships—'That his station was lucrative now but he would increase that and extend its influence.' I wait till October, it came—The Governor was deceived, Ducarrel had not resign'd nor would resign. I went to Barraset—told this to Mr. H. He seemed

(52) ? Thomas Yeats. Administrator of L. Lyon's estate.

(53) Simon Ewart. Arrived as Writer 12 November 1779; Factor and Salt Agent at Roymungal, 1783; Junior Merchant, 1788; At home, 1790; Returned, Senior Merchant 1794; Deputy Military Paymaster-General and Paymaster of Extraordinaries, 1799; Died, 2 December 1812, at Calcutta.

vexed. 'Told me he was under such obligations to my Patron Lord Thurlow that he must—he would serve me—He could not tell how—He could not tell when—He would make no promise—He was sick of it—he had broken his last—But I might rely on his friendship. I should have Burdwan' ''.

'Coll. Hannays(54) place worth at least a lack and half came vacant, twas fitter for a civilian than a military officer—'Twas given away. Bathurst is sent up thro the patronage of the Lord President to superintend the collections of that villian Caullion Sing—Tis true 'twas below my mark the mark Mr. H. himself drew for me, but I was not offerd it. The friend and former dependant of Mr. Hastings most bitter enemy has compleated his fortune. Mr. H. had done a rare thing by him, All Mr. H.'s adherents had been turned out by Francis and that faction—Mr. H. gets the power again and turns out this one—Twas a rare instance—For when Mr. H. regained the power wrenchd from him and used to the ruin and dismissal of all his steady friends he suffer'd those friends to remain degraded, and permitted the adherents of his enemies to remain in quiet possession of the post they had unjustly obtained to the detriment of Mr. H.'s most deserving friends. Wombwell was however an exception—he was called down with a fortune equal to his ambition in his pocket—is on the point of retiring—had taken his passage—Is sent for and had a post of 5,000 rupees a month allowance with a most extensive establishment, in the line of vast presents and various known and unknown profits that the least he must make is One lack and 60,000 rupees a year. My debts encrease my creditors press me. I go to Mr. H. I tell him my situation, he pities me exceedingly—assures me he is my friend—That Ducarrel is now resolved to go home—And he will keep his word—I shall have BURDWAN.

'Stables arrives. Mr. Addison(55) has the Ophium Superintendence given him—He had young servant as he is 40,000 rupees, but had chosen to spend the major part at Chagnagur, (Chandernagore) where he had 800 rupees

(54) Alexander Hannay (1741/42—1782). Lieut. Colonel, 1st Bengal Eur. Regt. B. 1741/42. Transfd. from H.M.S. as Capt. 4 Aug. 1765. Major 1 Oct. 1769. Lt. Col. 4 Sept. 1780. *d. unm.* Calcutta, 4 Sept. 1782, aged 40.

Of Kirkdale, co. Kirkcudbright. Eldest son of William Hannay, of Kirkdale, and Margaret his wife, *dau.* of Rev. Patrick Johnston, of Girthon. Elder brother of Sir Samuel Hannay, of Mochrum and Kirkdale Bart., and uncle of John Hannay.

Services: Originally in H.M.S. (Lieut. 51st Foot 2 Aug. 1760), and took part in the campaign in Germany (including the battle of Minden 1 Aug. 1759) under the Marquess of Granby. "When the peace came he was a Lieut., and, supported by a splendid testimonial from his C.-in-C., he offered his services to the E. I. Co. They gave him a Captaincy, and he was wrecked in the Bay of Bengal, with the Coy. under his command; . . . In a few years, however, he rose to be Adjutant-General of the Army in India, and Warren Hastings's period found him comdg the forces of the Nawab of Oudh." Apptd. Field Ofr. of an Inf. Bde. 23 May 1772. First Rohilla War 1774; battle of St. George, led the Select Picket and Sepoy Grens. Entered the service of the Nawab of Oudh in 1778, and was placed in charge of the Gorakhpur district. Dismissed by the Nawab in 1781. Will dated 2 Sept. 1782. M.I. in S. Park St. cemetery, Calcutta. (Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758—1834*). See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 162

(55) John Addison. Head Assistant at the Murshidabad Durbar during the Residency of Sir John D'Oyly and continued in the same capacity under his successor, Robert Pott. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 100 and Vol. XLVIII, p. 91.

a month.—In Dogs and Horses. On the first sale of opium he made 75,000 rupees clear—there are three at least a year perhaps not equally extensive. Mr. Dent had 850 rupees a month and lived at Mr. Purlings(56) his assistant to the Chinsura Commission—To put some cash in his pocket he is sent up Sizawaul (folio 154) tho he is as fit for the Chief Judgeship of the Court of Kings Bench. An order arrives to dispossess the gentlemen not in the Service—The Salt Agencies are to be given to companies servants. Very old servants are precluded applying for the controul Mr. Vansittart is a young servant, and the etiqu(e)tte of the service ex(c)ludes an elder taking a subordinate post to a younger. News arrives. Everything tends in the Directory to the recal of Mr. Hastings, A party headed by that Ban Dog Francis is formed against you Sir—I tremble at the idea of losing in a moment my two only friends, No time appeared to be lost. I again urge you Mr. H. The list of those talked of for the salt business are men below me in rank, not my superiors in ability my inferiours in attachment to Mr. H., my inferiors in interest. I am recommended by the first character in the world—I am recommended by the court of Directors, My father is the Governour Generals oldest friend—he takes pride to avow it, I am starving. In fear of personal confinement—I went to Mr. H. told him my situation—He swore my disappointments wrung his soul—That from the first of my arrival he had promised me BURDWAN and that he was resolved I should have it, That Ducarrel would go in October that he knew it from Wheeler—I knew that under the idea which then with good foundation prevailed of Mr. Hastings recal Mr. Wheeler would have sacrificed anything to Ducarrel to keep him I knew Ducarrel loved, Adored money—Loved power—Liked the Climate—the People—the manners of the country, But I dared not you know hint this, I only told Mr. H. that I was threatened by an Attorney with arrest for 15,000 rupees—And that I had not now the means of living, I pressed distantly and in a previous letter the loan of this sum, My soul was rebutted at the idea—But that or a Jail were my alternative—The hints for the loan were not understood—My miserable situation was—‘he felt as much for me as I did for myself, But it might have been worse.’ Alluding to the Lye Stables had told him of my attempting in 79 through Lord Chancellor to wrest his choisest privilege from him. The right of patronage, To wrest from Sr John D’Oily (57) the Residency at the Durbar—Tho had Mr. H. used his usual quickness he might have recollected that in 79 Martin(58) had not quitted nor news arrived of

(56) Charles Hutchinson Purling. One of the Commissioners for the Management of the Dutch East India Company’s Possessions at Chinsurah. Was one of the witnesses at the trial of Warren Hastings. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 207, Vol. XXVI, p. 156 and Vol. XXVIII, p. 216.

(57) John Hadley D’Oily, aft. 6th Baronet. Arrived as a Writer, 4 June 1770; Appointed Resident at the Durbar and Collector of Customs at Murshidabad, 1782. An intimate friend of Hastings.—See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 39, Vol. XXVII p. 200, and Vol. XXXVIII, p. 13.

(58) William Byam Martin (1). Arrived as Writer, 16 July 1765; Assistant in the Select Committee’s Office, 1766; Without employment, 1767; under the Export Warehouse Keeper, 1768; Factor and Assistant under the Council of Revenue at Murshidabad 1770; Collector of Customs at Murshidabad, 1772; Junior Merchant and Collector of Rockenpore, 1773; Collector

his quitting in 80 Nor of D'Oilys succession till 81. But 'when to gratify a private appetite it is once resolved upon than an *innocent* and an helpless creature shall be sacrificed tis an easy matter to pick up sticks enough from any thicket where it has strayed to offer it up with.'

"Well he felt for my situation, But I should have Burdwan, Burdwan with Mr. H. is like the Drunkards three wishes—'Ale, more Ale—more Ale—' I then told him that long before I could get Burdwan I should be in Jail He told me 'that in a few days some things would be given away—among which I should have something to keep me from distress and to put a trifle in my pocket to pay my debts with'. I was now the happiest man in the universe. I waited on you Sir, I told you all this, and you were so kind to undertake procuring Tomluke for me."

"Radshy (Rajshahi) worth four Burdwans is now given to Evellyn,(59) Purniah (Purnea) to Heatley.(60) But I forgot to mention that on my first arrival when Mr. H. was so much distressed How to provide for me Mr. Irwin sold Commercolly (Kumarkhali) to Taylour and then had Chittagong given him, Chittagong is quite as healthy as Calcutta and 50,000 rupees a year better than 600 rupees a month, Thus Irwin held in 82 two posts for Taylour gave him a year of Commercolly (Kumarkhali) and Mr. H. gave him Chittagong. But 'Among the things to be given away' I was to depend on one. I now wrote to Mr. H. and told him either of the salt Agent business's would fully Gratify me without looking further. Even to Burdwan. Tomluke is given to Master Dent. Souteloury to Mr. Ewart. Mr. Ewart married a Directors Daughter and having dissipated her money is sent out recommended 'to one of the first vacant *things*.' This recommendation must be attended to—Tho I was by the same powers sent out to succeed to the Chiefship of a Provincial council in 79. In 80 to succeed to the Durbar, and in 81—Strongly recommended—Mr. Ewarts claim however must be attended to, and least Soutaloury would not be salt to his porridge it being only 60,000 rupees the collectorship of Jessore is thrown in, Chittagong is joined to Bulwah to season Mr. Plowdens mess."

"The Post Office and Bearers are called in to aid 85,000 rupees a year Bellie had by his contract for victualling fort William, But he was fosterd in

of Customs at Murshidabad, 1773; Resident at the Durbar, 1775; Senior Merchant holding the same Office, 1776; Without employment, 1777; Resident at the Durbar, 1778; without employment, 1780; proceeded to Europe and out of the Service, 1782; Died in Ireland, 3 April 1806. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 202, 221, and Vol. XXVI, p. 161.

(59) John Evelyn. Arrived as Writer, 4 June 1770; Assistant in the Collector's Office; Clerk of the Market and Mayor of Calcutta, 1773; Assistant to the Council of Revenue at Dacca, 1774; Factor with the same duties, 1776; Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat at Dacca, 1778; Junior Merchant and Third Member of the Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1779; Senior Merchant and Member of the Calcutta Revenue Committee or Board of Trade, 1782. In England, 1790; Out of the Service, 1795; Died at Wotton near Dorking, 27 November 1827. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 41, 66.

(60) Suetonius Grant Heatley. Arrived as Writer, 20 June 1760. In 1778 attained the rank of Senior Merchant; Appointed Second Commissary at Chinsura, 1782; Chief of Purnea, 1783. Died, 3 June 1794. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IX, p. 64.

Mr. H.'s breast, was his most confidential man, And strange to relate in 76 and 77 did not turn traitor, tho the opposite faction would not have given a vast deal I take it to have purchased Mr. Bellie's knowledge. Bellie is Mr H.'s friend and hard is the lot of a man in superior station if he may not pay the debts due to his friendship."

"In short all 'The Things which were in a few days to be given away'—Are *given away* except Nuddea which no man who is not desperate will accept such is the complicated situation of that district throu the villainy of the greatest scoundrel on earth the Rajah of Kishnagur (Krishnagur) of notorious memory that whoever go's there will be foiled by him and return with a loss of character and of time. And the 24 pergunnahs which is a troublesome, unthankful, unprofitable to any extensive degree and disagreeable office neither of which two am I ambitious of. (F. 156) But the Proprietors have done Mr. Hastings justice, and we may hope settled him here yet a time longer, Your own account corroborated, hath set your conduct in its proper point of view and I will not doubt Sir but that ample justice will be done to your character, My fears of losing my patrons are vanished. . . . (Folio 157). I was some days ago informed of your final resolution to quit this country by some of the first ships of the season, An event I look to with the deepest regret and anxiety, . . . On your departure Sir I shall no longer have one friend in India, From you alone Sir have I met with the smallest support, and I am convinced that had your powers to serve me been greater I should have needed no other, The friendship you have honoured me with will constitute my most pleasant reflection, . . . The recommendations I brought out to this country I speak it not as a matter of vanity, no part of my own conduct intitled me to it, was of such extent as to be the subject of conversation in London even among those who had never seen or known me, The most certain success seemed to await me and I left England the envy of many in very superior situations. 'Thurlow has written to Hastings in favour of Pott's son' was mentioned as matter of surprise at Lord North's Table. I own I set inestimable value on that letter, I could not suppose (knowing Lord Thurlows character) that after the opposition he had experienced, and the slights he had exposed himself to from those wretches in Leadenhal Street thro three successive years that he would risk similar treatment in this government, for tho I own I teaz'd him into writing to Mr. Hastings, assuring him that Mr. H. was my firm friend, And that I more wish'd the letter as a favour done him, as a Gratification to *him* than from any idea I had that such letter was in the smallest degree necessary to inducing him to support and serve *me* still I flatterd myself that his lordship would have resisted my solicitation had he not thought he had such a right to ask as should preclude refusal."

"Id quod volumus facile cridimus and I have been strangely mistaken. But my dear Sir the valuation I made of those recommendations was subscribed to by all my friends in London, and I dread that they will foster an idea, that something wrong in my private character known to Mr. Hastings, alone could render ineffectual the support I have had given me, To remove, or prevent so injurious an idea and not to gratify a disappointed mind I have within these few days written a faithful detail of my reception and of my

present situation, and I have taken the liberty Sir of appealing to you for the truth of my narrative to Lord Thurlow, and to my father."

"On my arrival in this country my reception was beyond my most sanguine expectations. But very early I was taught to moderate my hopes, You my dear Sir were soon given to understand that nothing was immediately intended for me, You early found your warm, your friendly interference assisted not my promotion and on that ground declined urging Mr. Hastings further. I was early told that 'I was to be served for my own sake.' That, far from flattering, greatly alarmed me. The alarm was too justly grounded. Mr. Hastings at this time, whatever he may now experience, had no opposition in the Council, Wheeler was well inclined to me, Macpherson had for some motive or other given up his share of patronage Perhaps Mr. Bristowe knows the motive, Lord North was still at the Helm. Macpherson had therefore still something to hope and to fear from him, strong principles of action, Early impressed and Seldom varied from by Mr. MacPhearson's countrymen."

"The letter he had at Lord North's order written in my favour to Mr. Hastings was strong even to tautology. Yet after six months nothing was done, That nothing could, have been done by the Governor General so situated in Council were too absurd to be credited by the merest Boy in the settlement. Let the present Army Staff contradict it if attempted to be urged, The Arch Bishop of York's sons (William Markham's) (61) trip to Banares, Military Captains Sezawauls of Districts, Attorneys tack'd to Salt Agencies—The Quadruple expences of the Dawks encreased since the Company themselves defrayed the postage. Mr. Evellyn's appointment to Radshy, The little matters of freight given in aid to assist the Secretary will help to shew that modes are not wanting when the Governour is serious in his search for them. At last Sir Elijah we were promised the succession to BURDWAN with this Additional promise, 'I will make it my business to extend its influence and its profits.' When loo! Mr. Ducarrel determines not to budge that year. Notwithstanding the ill reception your former solicitations for me had met, you my dear Sir once more stood forward for me, As an additional cause to your avowed friendship for me you intimated that your friend Lord Thurlow had requested you to assist me. That a packet was on the point of dispatch and that you much wished to have it in your power to write his lordship word that something had been done to gratify him in consequence of his recommendation. This acted not as you wished, far from proving a stimulus it was ill received. Time serving measures such as holding out promises on the eve of the dispatch of a packet entered not into Mr. Hastings's system. But I should be served, How, Where or when was not to be ascertained, He was under infinite obligation to Lord Thurlow and wished on that head to serve me.' And which if I had thought fit, I suppose I was at liberty to have written, . . . Mr. Ducarrel came down, the Governour's wrath was appeaz'd

(61) William Markham. Son of William Markham, Headmaster of Westminster School, 1753—1765, and Archbishop of York, 1777—1807. Arrived in Bengal as Writer, 3 July 1777; Assistant to the Resident at Benares, 1779, also acting Postmaster; Factor and Resident at Benares, 1783; out of the Service in 1788. Died, 1 January 1815. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 73-74.

and an agreement was made that Mr. D. should remain one year more, His reason for wishing for this year was simply this. The new Bundabust was in that year to be formed for three years, He was to make it, The forming these Bundabusts form no immaterial part of the profits of the appointment, This egg thus suck'd I was to have the shell of, But the Governour insisted on an encrease of the Revenue, Ducarrel asserted it could never be collected, that it might be encreased but the land could never realize it, The f(a)rmer would be ruined and no advantage accrue. Thus Ducarrel lost his Egg."

"For the Boy Rajah was sent for, and Induced to take it himself at the increase insisted on—took leave—arrived at Burdwan. Called a (sic) Poonah, and let the land 3 laack minus what he had taken it of Government at, Thus the Egg was broken, And thus Mr. Hastings by an act of his own, For I know it was opposed by Wheeler has put it out of his own power to keep his promise of 'Extending the Influence and the Profits of BURDWAN.' The Rajah is Farmer and Collector. And my appointment is of so queer a kind that its business cannot stand its Godfather and therefore has a sort of Knackname as we give to slave boys 'Tis called Commissioner."

"Mr. Hastings in the most solumn manner pledge himself Sir to me that tho' I might wait some time e're he could serve me, for it was not in a narrow line he meant to do it yet till I was served no one else should be, I should, though late, be the first. How well he has kept that promise Mr. Evellyn's appointment shews, Mr. Vansittarts, Mr. Dents, Mr. Bellies, &ca."

"Say that Mr. Vansittart's appointment was of a peculiar nature, as also Mr. Evellyns, tho' they differ a little from each other, Say that Mr. Vansittart accepted the appointment on the conditions we are taught to credit, 'That he was to do the Business gratis . . . and receive not one Cowry for his trouble.' 'Tis an ill vineyard that will not pay its culture. And sad must be the situation of this once rich country if it will not pay its appointments. Heretofore it has—And no period has boasted more sinecures than Mr. Hastings's Government can lay claim to. But there being no salary annexed to it was the reason why I was not granted it. With respect to Mr. Evellyn's appointment we are told that it is not a Collectorship, But that he is only Sizawaul i.e. it is not a hat, but a chapeau."

"Mr. Hastings absolutely insults his friends he laments in most pathetic language the present situation of the Country which precludes him the power of serving his friends—The fact is true as holy writ. But who formed that system which has put the country on that footing. Who but Mr. Hastings. On premeditation, In opposition to the opinion of every man of sense in the country, During 73 he laboured it. Graham (62) and Barwell opposed it. In

(62) John Graham. Arrived as Writer, 7 October 1759 ; Secretary to the Committee of New Lands, 1761 ; Resident at Burdwan, 1762 ; Sub-Secretary, Postmaster, and Sheriff, 1763 ; Secretary in the Public and Secret Departments, Clerk to the Court of Appeals, and Sheriff, 1764 ; Factor and Third Council at Benares, 1765 ; Resident at Midnapore, 1766 ; Sheriff and Resident at Burdwan, 1767 ; Junior Merchant and Resident at Burdwan, 1767 ; Fourth of Council of Revenue at Murehidabad, 1770 ; Senior Merchant and Third of Council of

74, 75, 76 he fought for it. Clavering, Monson, Francis, Barwell, Wheeler, all opposed it, thro 77 and 78 he pushd it, And now has compleated it. From Lucknow to Ballasore the company's servants are all recalled. John, Thomas, and Harry are too apocyrphal names and are changed to Caulliaun Sing and Nob Kissen (Kissun). The Manners, Education and Religion of a persian adventurer, Or Mousulmaun Moonshe promises More abilities, More rectitude, More Justice and Truth than can be hoped for from an English Gentleman, But Mr. Hastings cannot wish us to suppose he bigoted to this countries natives, or rather let me say to *Black men* (for natives they are not many of them) has formed *himself* such opinions. A Black Collector is put in at will, and put out at caprice. And Mr. H. loves power."

"Tis this Cursed system which precludes him the power of serving those who have as fair right to be served in their rank as he in his, A system which at this hour is condemned by Wheeler, By Macphearson and by Stables, and by every friend and every enemy of the Governour, through Bengal, Bahar and Orixá. Yet he perseveres in it. And I trust telling those from whom he (long tottering in his seat) has stood in need of support from and now most wants it, that he chose rather to neglect their recommendations (and the greatest Characters at home value their right of patronage) than give up a system established in opposition to the whole service, Fairly tryed, and to the conviction of everyone, Even the very natives proved destructive and ruinous—productive of no good, And an indelible blot on the Characters of every Gentleman in the Service will scarce appear to them an admissible excuse."

"Ducarel will I think quit Sir before you go home, I shall then claim the promise, tho' I know it never was intended to be kept, and it is no longer practicable so that all my support at home and promises here will end in a paltry appointment Neither honourable nor profitable and I loaded with debts which my credulity not Extravagance has involved me in may curse that credulity. But Sir my Lord Thurlow I am assured is and will remain my Patron, The nobly generous manner he has provided for my Brother in giving him a living and trebling the value of it (which is ample) by the mode he gave it in convinces me that he will be the friend of the family. On him I rely. And look forward with patience. He Sir will ask you probably of me. Speak better of me I pray you than I deserve, I have written to him, and explained my situation, But I am too ill a pen man to wantonly risk all on my letters. I have refer'd him Sir to you. . . . August the 7th, 1783. . . .

(Folio 161) "I last night received the appointment of Assistant to succeed to Burdwan, from Mr. Webber (63) and return you my most sincere thanks

Revenue at Murshidabad, 1771 ; Thirteenth Member of Council of the Governor at Fort William, 1772 ; Twelfth Member of Council and President of the Board of Customs, 1773 ; Member of the Board of Trade, 1774 ; Out of the Service in 1775.

(63) William Webber. Arrived as Writer, 22 July 1771 ; Assistant in Secretary's Office, 1772 ; Assistant under the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, 1773 ; Factor and First Assistant to the Secretary, Revenue Department, 1776 ; Sub-Secretary to the Revenue Department, 1779 ; Junior Merchant holding the same office, 1780 ; Secretary to Government, Revenue Dept., 1782 ; also Registrar to the Sadr Diwani Adalat, 1783 ; Senior merchant (without employ), 1788.

for the very active and friendly part you have taken in it and every other matter in which my interest has been concerned."

"But permit me my dear sir to renew my solicitation to you to finish the affair of Geeree Bobbu, I have thought a good deal and talkd with my Banyan on the seeming strangeness of a man lending me money and making me fill a bond in the name of another without that person's privacy or consent, The truth is Geeree Bobbu did lend me the money and is exceeding savage about my not taking him as my Banyan, And tells you Sir that it is another man merely to throw the blame off himself of giving me the trouble that I know he meditates to give me in a few days, But if he really means to be quiet he can raise no good objection to renewing the Bond for six months more."

"In short my dear Sir I know to a certainty that he means to arrest me the moment the bond is due which will be the case in 8 or 10 days unless you my dear Sir exert yourself and send for him, And if he refuses you tis then evident what his intentions are the ascertaining which even will be attended with some good to me as I can prepare to run to shelter from his arrest for I have no friend nor no means and cannot therefore either pay him myself—Compound with him Or get anyone to settle it for me, In short my dear Sir no time is to be lost while the bond remains not due for I am sure he means me ill the moment it is and will then pretend to you that *the man* who lent the money would not hear reason, that he had used every argument to dissuade him from taking such a step but in vain Pardon my dear Sir the perpetual trouble I am to you."

(F. 163) "I am sorry to have given you so much trouble in the affair which I was certain would end as now it is apparent it will, As to Mr. Fergusson's (64) Banyans story of a third person it is all false—no third person exists and Geeree lent me the money and Geeree has the bond and Gereee has a thousand times threatned what he would do when it became due, which 'he hoped and trusted would be e'er I could answer his demand when he would make me feel him', As to his hopes from G. P. Mitter they I am sorry to say are ill founded, tis now seven months since he lent me a rupee nor will he lend me one Nor do I owe him 60000. This debt is short of 9000, Nothing is to be done thro Mr. Fergusson, But my dear Sir if you will permit me to send the Sircar to you who brought Geeree to me, And if you can with propriety send for Geeree I think he may be induced to take the Interest and one third of the principal and a Bond for four months for the Remainder, But if he holds out the consequence inevitably will be that I shall be arrested and my inability to pay will cause me to go to jail when the man who you put off the other day for 7000 will come on me, The Armenian for 5000, the Mogul for 5000, My Banyan for his demand, Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, &ca &ca &ca, to an amount that they can not hope for even one anna in the rupee from the sale of all my goods and from all my exertions among all my friends, And if Mr. Geeree do's proceed I shall take care that my Banyan shall have

(64) ? John Fergusson. Shipowner and Contractor. Attorney to Sir E. Impey. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XIV, p. 212.

at least the first slice at me, so that if you my dear Sir can only get a possitive answer from him, tho it be an unpleasant one I can turn it to account."

(F. 165) "With the highest sense of gratitude I return you my thanks for your intended kindness which Mr. H. as you will perceive by the enclosed has rendered unnecessary. Nothing now aghasts me but the ireful Geeree, if that labour were over I would rival Hercules and prove that I have done more arduous tasks But unless you charm him Sir he will stick to me like Nessrs's shirt".

(Folio 166) "That Job was patient I can easily believe, But his historian with reverence well I assert wanted imagination in giving us the only instance he quotes, viz. suffering the surely pleasant irritation of dogs tongues to sores which doubtless itched exceedingly, which must instead of suffering have been an enormous luxury and thought by most old ladies a sovereign healer, particularly if there be dirt in the wound, And tis not easily imagined that a poor Jew could have been other than very exceeding dirty. I do not however intend to lower the merit of Job, who by the way is not the man I mean—But Lazarus—And who by the way is not recorded for being patient—And I will therefore venture to say he wanted the choicest virtue in the calendar A virtue my dear Sir which I must accuse myself of The following my dear Sir is the list of the places which have been given away since my arrival in the country.

Radshy	...	...	Evellyn.
Purneah	...	...	Heatley.
Rungpore	...	...	Goodlad. (65)
Nuddea	...	...	Vansittart but he poor fellow was starving on a laack and twenty-five thousand rupees a year besides some work for Mrs. Poney and family—
Succession to Col. Hannay.			
Tomluke	...	...	Dent. he poor lad has been 4 years Toiling in this country.
Soutaloury	...	...	Ewart with the collections of Jessore, for without that it was worth but 60,000 rupees a year.
Chittagong & Bulwah	Plowden.		
Military Accomptant at Lucknow	...	...	Wombwell it being the opinion of the Physic(i)ans that England would be too Damp for his constitution to which place he was rashly about to go.

(65) Richard Goodlad. Arrived as Writer, 22 July 1771 ; Assistant under the Persian Translator, 1772 ; Assistant to Collector of Purnea, 1773 ; Assistant at Dinajpur, 1774 ; Factor and Assistant to the Council of Revenue at Dinajpur, 1777 ; Persian Translator at Dinajpur, 1778 ; Junior Merchant and Assistant to Collector at Rungpore, 1780 ; Collector of Rungpore and Judge of the adalat 1782 ; Senior Merchant, 1788 ; Salt Agent of the Twentyfour Parganas and Mymensingh, 1790 ; Proceeded to Europe 1801 ; Out of the Service, 1805.

Chittagong Chiefship	Irwin Mr. Tylour having most unfairly coaxed him out of his former appointment—
Ophium Inspector ...	But this is a minor thing and only fit for a very young servant for in one whole dividend he put but 75000 into his private purse Addison
Post Master General and Dawk Bearers ...	Bellie but he had only a contract which he refused 75,000 rupees a year for and therefore wanted some trifle.
Embassadour to the Grand Lama ...	Turner.(66)
Auditor of Accounts	devoured long since by Cockroaches. Scawen.
To make converts to Christianity and purchase Horses Musk and Hooker Snakes.	Rev. Dr. Johnson.(67)
To reduce the french prisoners at Chagnagar (Chandernagore) to a proper lowness and keep them on Regimen.	Mollony.(68)
24. Pergunnahs ...	Touchet.
Paymaster of Troops at Furrickaband.	
Petty Mahals ...	Wilkins—(afterwards Sir Charles, the celebrated Oriental scholar. E. B. I.)
20. Boggarah ...	Short (69)
Collector of Calcutta	Moore, (Peter Moore (70) E. B. I.)

"These, my dear Sir, have I seen given away without one sigh, But—There is a matter I own I feel interested in—The Reverend Dr. Stanley is dead—All I wish now is to succeed him. Bishop Byrne has promised to ordain me and the Son of the late Lord Peterborough, Mr. John Mordaunt (71) has offered to examine me in the Fathers. I know my Lord Thurlow wants but to have the mode pointed out *How* to serve me—and the bib and cassock dos it. . . . Let me once more Sir entreat your kind office to procuring me this induction and I will ever Pray for you without tythe or Surplice fee. . . . R. P. Pott. Curate of Durrumtollah." (I know nothing of this disgusting and flippant writer, E. B. I.)

(66) Capt. Samuel Turner, of the Bengal Army, 1780—1802. The well-known traveller and diplomatist. A cousin of Warren Hastings. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XL, p. 120, vol. XLII, p. 89, and vol. XLIV, p. 148.

(67) Rev. William Johnson. Chaplain of Calcutta, husband of Begum Johnson. *Bengal: Past and Present, Passim*.

(68) Arthur Molony. Arrived as Writer, 27 June 1776 ; Collector of Government Customs at Calcutta and Commissary of Chandernagore in 1782.

(69) Thomas Vowler Short. Arrived as Writer, 12 November 1779 ; Assistant to Commissioner at Burdwan, 1772 ; Collector of Bogariah, 1783 ; Junior Merchant and Head Assistant to Collector at Rajshahi, 1788.

(70) Peter Moore. Thackeray's guardian and friend of Sheridan. A "Nabob". One of the Commissioners of Police at Calcutta. For details of his career and his portrait, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXVI, pp. 180—184, and vol. XXVII, pp. 222—223.

(71) Colonel John Mordaunt. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XLIX, p. 104.

On the 1st September, 1783, Hickey and Charlotte left Pott's Gardens, and took a house in Calcutta. Charlotte, never strong, now gradually began to fade away. Pott had to go up the country in November to his new post, and Charlotte and Hickey missed his kind and amusing ways. At length on Christmas Day, 1783, Charlotte died, and Pott asked the inconsolable Hickey to go up to him at Burdwan, which he did on 30th December.

"In the month of July," says Hickey, who is writing of the year, 1784, "my friend, Robert Pott, accomplished his great object by obtaining the appointment of Resident at the Durbar of the Nabob of Bengal at the City of Murshedabad, which was at that time considered as the most lucrative office in the Company's Service."

"As I have before stated, Pott, (1779) through the interest and influence of Lord Thurlow, then Lord Chancellor of England, had been nominated to the reversion of the Residency by the Court of Directors during his stay in London, and it was generally known that Sir John D'Oyley, the holder of the place at the time of Pott's return to India, intended to resign the service and leave Bengal at the end of the then current year, notwithstanding he gave out that he would remain two, if not three years longer, and this he said in order to induce Pott, who he knew was impatient to be in possession, to bid money as a consideration for an earlier resignation."

Hickey tells us how Pott, though cautioned not to fall into the trap set for him by Sir John D'Oyley, ended in paying the Baronet three lakhs of sicca rupees for vacant possession of the Residency of Murshidabad. Sir John also induced him to pay for "a lot of trumpery old furniture." Exorbitant as these terms were, Pott was delighted, and with inexpressible satisfaction took possession of the house at Afzalbaug, distant about four miles from the city of Murshidabad. The house was very magnificent but did not come up to the ideas of Pott, and he began to alter the whole plan of the house, "making it altogether the most splendid thing in India." In about April, 1785, Pott sent down a very pretty little native girl Kiraun, who became Hickey's mistress.

Hickey tells us of his adventures, when in company with Major Russell he visited Pott, whose house might fairly have been termed a palace, and he himself was given a suite of apartments with warm and cold baths of their own, "and every other luxury of the East."

On the day after their arrival Pott proposed a visit to Berhampur, "when to my utter astonishment . . . I saw a party of light horse drawn up, dressed in rich uniforms and mounted upon beautiful Arabian horses. The men upon our entering the carriage saluted with their sabres. Upon my enquiring in a low voice of Pott the meaning of this, he laughingly replied they were part of his bodyguard, consisting of sixty.

"Mr. Pott's inmates at the time were Mr. and Mrs. Burgh, Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay, The Honourable David Anstruther,(72) who commanded the Nabob's

(72) Hon. David Anstruther, (1750/51-?). Lieutenant Cavalry. b.1750/51 Cadet 1778. Arrived in India 8 October 1778. Ensign 1 Jan. 1778. Lieut. 9 Oct. 1778. Resigned 12 May 1794. d. (after 1818). Of Huntmore Park, Bucks. 3rd son of Sir Alexander Anstruther,

bodyguard, his lady, Miss Donaldson, Mrs. Anstruther's sister, and Mr. Farrington (Farington), the landscape painter. His own immediate family consisted of his cousin, George Cruttenden, Mr. Trant, Mr. Ley, and Doctor Glass,(73) surgeon to the Resident at the Durbar."

"Every individual in the house ordered carriages or saddle-horses as they pleased, to take the air morning and evening." Once they visited the Nawab in his palace in the city where they had an excellent breakfast with His Highness, who later took Hickey round, "his noble suite of apartments, his gardens, menagerie, aviary, and stud of horses. Upon our departure he presented me with a pair of beautiful shawls."

Three days afterwards the Nawab came in great state to return Hickey's visit, "when he invited the whole of Pott's party to a supper and display of fireworks the following evening, to which we went and were magnificently entertained."

Pott had only arrived at Murshidabad towards the end of 1784, and his troubles there began early.

Charles Croftes, of the Accountant-General's Office, wrote 11th May, 1785 for Pott's accounts since October, 1784.

In the Nesbitt-Thompson Papers, G. N. Thompson writes from Alipur on 4th August, 1785: "Poor Pot has been in hot water ever since you left us. The villainous intrigues of his own Dewan Soonder Sing and of the Beegum's Dewan Roy Maunick Churn have kept up the fire. I have in vain endeavoured to extinguish it—for, to go on with the metaphor,—pott boiled over, and I was in danger of being scalded."(74)

Hickey tells us that in August, 1785, Captain (Henry) Churchill of the *Walpole* Indiamen brought out a lot of plate ordered by Pott who refused to pay for it on the ground that the Nawab did not now want it. After an action in Court Pott was compelled to pay the whole sum and costs.

A letter dated 14th October, 1785 was from W. M. Larkins,(75) Accountant-General, regarding accounts, and a third letter about charges paid to servants, etc., was dated 16th November, 1785. Arrears to the Nawab were mentioned

styled Lord Newark, and Jean Leslie his wife, titular Baroness Newark. Elder brother of William Anstruther, third titular Lord Newark. m. Kasimbazar, Bengal, Feb. 1780, Miss Mary Donaldson, of Allachie, co. Aberdeen, Father of Ashford John Anstruther, and of Robert Lindsay Anstruther. *Services*: Comdg. the Nawab Wazir of Oudh's Body Guard c. 1785. Was on fur. in 1790. (*Hudson's Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758—1834*).

(73) John Glas (s), born 1750. Had served in Marine Service. Locally appointed. Surg. Mate, Speaker, 1769-70; Surgeon of *Prime*, 1773-74 and 1777-78. Asst. Surgeon, 15 April 1781; gave up promotion to remain at Bhagalpur. Surgeon at Murshidabad and at the Darbar, 23 January 1784. Died at Bhagalpur, 3 Aug. 1822. (*Crawford's Roll of the Indian Medical Service*).

(74). *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XVI, p. 10.

(75) William Larkins. Hastings' "Faithful Larkins". See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXV, p. 153, vol. XXVII, pp. 178-179, and vol. XXIX, p. 226 (portrait).

on 16th February 1786 by R. Johnson, and J. E. Harington(76) wrote from Fort William, 23rd February, 1786 on the same subject.(77)

On November 30th, 1786, Mr. Thompson writes to Mr. Nesbitt:

"I saw Palmer last night, who seems much incensed at a story told him by Pott. Coming from that quarter I do not implicitly rely on its truth; and if true it furnishes but very slight grounds for just offence."

On 30th December, 1786, from Fort William, Mr. Thompson says: "The villainous and various intrigues of Pott, Sounder Sing and Roy Maunick Churn at the city have given Mr. Shore(78) an opportunity of raising on the ruins of them all the fortunes of Mohammad Reeza Khawn."(79)

Of 1786, according to Mr. Stuart, (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XLV), the expenditure on pensions (passing through the Resident's hands) for the previous eleven months is recorded:

"Mobaric-ud-dowlah, the Nawab himself gets according to this Rs. 12,72,990-13-10. 'Munny Begum' Rs. 1,08,000/-, Mozuffer Jung Rs. 1,94,000/- and other eight persons smaller sums; of these one is a Mr. Wilkinson, who was officially in charge of a salt-petre works at Rajmahal and another, Raja Dridyanarayan. This account appears to have been 'extracted from the Treasury sheets for determining on M. R. Khan's claim for his unpaid allowance.' This is probably Mohammed Reza Khan."

Mr. Stuart continues: "In another letter we find reference to his (Pott's) commission of 5 per cent. on the stipends paid in his office(80) . . . Pott appears also to have paid the Nawab's troops, under the command of an English Officer." Cornwallis writes to Pott on January 30th, 1787 that Captain Anstruther has received no part of the payment of the Battalion from 15th July last," and on 7th February, 1787, Mr. E. Hay(81) writes that Pott is to pay the allowances from 31st January, 1786.

(76) John Edward Harington (*aft. Bart.*). Arrived as Writer, 27 June 1776; Assistant to the Secretary to the Revenue Council, 1778; Factor, Assistant in the Revenue Department and Sub-Accountant to the Revenue Committee, 1782; Senior Merchant, Deputy Accountant-General and Accountant to Revenue Department, 1788; Collector, Judge and Magistrate of Murshidabad, 1790; succeeded to Baronetcy, 1793; Judge and Magistrate of Murshidabad and Resident of the Durbar, 1794; At home 1799; Out of the Service, 1803; Died in England, 9 June 1831.

(77) *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XLV, pp. 13-15.

(78) John Shore, *aft. Baron Teignmouth*. Member of the Committee of Revenue. Governor-General, 1793-1798. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXV, p. 155 and vol. XXVIII, p. 216.

(79) *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XVII, p. 97.

(80) As Commissioner at Burdwan, his annual salary and allowances amounted to Cy. Rs. 58,796:—Salary, as a Junior Merchant, Cy. Rs. 23-3-2; Diet money as a Junior Merchant out of Calcutta, Cy. Rs. 20-6-0; commission of 1½ per cent. on the net Revenues of the Burdwan District, Cy. Rs. 4856-2-3 per mensem (India Office Records: MS. *List of Bengal Civil Servants*, 1 Jan. 1784).

(81) Edward Hay. Arrived as Writer, 6 October 1775; Assistant in Secretary's Office, Secret Department, 1777; Factor, Sub-Secretary in General Department and Agent for the manufacture of powder, 1782; also secretary in Secret Department, 1783; Senior Merchant and Secretary to Government, 1788; Out of the Service in 1800. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XIV, p. 61.

On February 9th, 1787, William Hickey with four friends left Calcutta on a river excursion. He writes: "We arrived off Afzulbaug, where I was in the act of writing a note to my friend Robert Pott, when the very man himself came alongside our pinnace, in a magnificent boat of his own building attended by a swarry of at least fifty persons . . . Pott insisted upon our immediate landing and taking up our abode in his house, which we did, being received and entertained during the ten days that we stayed with the utmost hospitality and in his usual splendid style."

Mr. Stuart says (*B.: P. & P.*, vol. xlv, page 5): "There is an enormous and highly elevated plinth of an old house which is identified as Pott's house at such a place ; it is known as Abdulbagan and may be identical. In Bengali y becomes j and 'afjul' might easily become abdul in time. An old woman there says she has seen the house which was two-storied ; and she further is of the opinion that there is buried treasure about. I'm afraid it would only be Claret bottles. The Godowns of the house are still standing and are the Murshidabad Match Factory : it is reported to have been specially constructed against the damp . . . As Pott was also Collector of Customs and had dealings in Saltpetre, it is possible that he had use for such a building."

Hickey tells us the house "was beautifully situated on the banks of the Cossimbazar River" and Mr. Stuart goes on to say that the river has changed its course considerably, but that it seems unlikely that it ever actually passed by this site. There is a low piece of land, however, in front of it which may have been under water then.

Hickey describes Robert Pott's quarrel with his second in command, John Addison, and says that "they too fatally effected their object of ruining each other." Mr. Stuart says it is quite likely that Addison helped Pott's downfall, as he had been discharged in September, 1786 and probably went to Calcutta and carried tales to the new Governor. In any case the blow fell on 11th June, 1787. The abolition of the office of Resident at the Durbar as a separate and distinct office was required by the Directors (Despatch, 21 July, 1786) Pott was told.

"And . . . in consequence thereof, you are to consider yourself as recalled therefrom on your receipt of this letter, when you are required to deliver over to Mr. Speke,(82) Collector of Radshy, all the correspondence, Records, and accounts of that office, and any balance in certificates or cash, that may be in your hands. I enclose a letter from the Governor General to His Highness which you are ordered to send or deliver on your receipt of it. A translation of it is also transmitted for your information. It is the wish of the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General that you should present Mr. Speke to the Nabob."(83)

I think myself that William Hickey had taken charge of Pott at this time and that he was probably at Murshidabad (with the frightened and sobered Robert firmly in his clutches) fighting for the honour of the Pott family and for the personal liberty of his friend Robert. Otherwise I cannot understand

(82) Peter Speke. Member of the Supreme Council, 1789 to 1801. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, vol. XXVI, p. 112, vol. XXXV, pp. 112 and 120.

(83) *Bengal : Past and Present*, vol. XLV, pp. 10-11.

the quiet dignity of Bob's three letters to Peter Speke (an intimate friend then or later of William Hickey's) of which the first is undated. He writes(84):

"I enclose you a letter I this night received from the Presidency ; Also a copy of a letter from the Right Hon'ble the Governor General to His Highness the Nawab and hold myself in readiness to comply with the orders it contains. I have written a letter to His Highness requesting permission to wait on him to-morrow morning, when I will desire him to appoint the time for my doing myself the honour of presenting you, of which I will give you immediate information."

In the second letter Pott says: "Accompanying I send you a letter I yesterday addressed to you but delayed despatching till I should receive his Highness' answer to my note requesting permission to wait on him this morning, copy of which I enclose. He excuses himself from receiving me in the morning on account of the Ramzaun and has appointed the evening. I shall then settle a time with him for presenting you conformable to the Hon'ble the Governor General's orders. The records, accounts, etc. of the office are preparing and shall be delivered over to you without delay. 18th June, 1787."

The third: "Agreeable to my letter of the 18th and to His Highness's appointment, I went to the Killah last night at ten o'clock. His Highness has desired me to inform you that to-morrow night at half past eight if agreeable to you will suit him for your introduction. I am aware, and lament how ill adapted these late hours in such weather must be to you in your present state of ill health. But during this feast of the Ramzan there seems no remedy. Upon several occasions it has been the custom to introduce the new Resident to His Highness's mother, and to the Munny Begum. I wish to be favoured with your sentiments on it. I endeavoured last night to be received by them. But they excused themselves on account of the fatigue of the fast which rendered them unfit for receiving a visit." 20 June 1787."

Percivall Pott, one fears, lived just long enough to hear of his son's downfall and it was probably a good deal out of consideration for him that Robert was allowed to get off even as lightly as he did ; and was not at least dismissed the Company's service. Also, no doubt, Hickey and other friends strenuously exerted themselves on behalf of Bob.

On 28th May, 1788 at Berhampur, Robert Pott married his cousin Sally Cruttenden daughter of Robert and Alice Cruttenden(85), described by Hickey as "a very charming woman, who was universally admired and respected and who proved an exemplary wife." It has been stated that Sally has six thousand a year of her own which, if she really had it, must have been useful as Pott had not saved a guinea in the very lucrative situation he had lost.

(84) *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XLV, pp. 11-12.

(85) Sarah Cruttenden was permitted to proceed to her friends at Bengal in the *Walpole* (*Court Minutes*, 4 January 1786), which arrived there on 23 August 1786 (*Calcutta Gazette*, 24 August 1786). Bob's father and brother (Percivall Pott, Jr., Banker, of Lombard Street), were her "Securities" in £200 each.

In September 1788 Pott wrote to the Governor General in Council asking for the usual subsistence allowance, and requesting permission to remain at Murshidabad during the period that he might remain out of employment.(86)

The Editor's note book (*Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XLV, p. 137) quotes from the journal of William Daniell and says that on their way up the river in 1788, the Daniells arrived in their budgerow at Bhagalpur on October 18th. Mr. Potts boats anchored on the opposite side to them. On the following evening Pott called upon Thomas Daniell and "we went with him on board his boat which was very highly finished."

In June 1789 Muhammed Riza Khan wrote to the Governor-General, enclosing an account of the receipts and arrears of his stipend from January, 1785 to May 1787, during the residency of Mr. Pott ; and in July 1789, Mr. W. Larkins reported his audit of accounts of demands, etc. for stipends of Muhammed Riza Khan and others from January 1785 to May 1787, through Mr. Pott.(87)

The next mention of Pott in William Daniell's diary is on September 24th, 1789. The Daniells were staying with Claude Martin at Lucknow. Pott had arrived in his Pinnace, lately from Jampore, and they met him at dinner at the house of Edward Otho Ives,(88) the Resident. On the 25th "Mr. Pott and some other gents with him came to look at my Un(cle's) drawings," and on the following day uncle and nephew "breakfasted on board Mr. Pott's boat," and Pott sent to William Daniell "a picture of Zoffany" from which he made for him "a drawing of two of the figures."

On October 1st, 1789 Pott wrote from Lucknow to Mr. J. White,(89) Sub-Secretary, requesting permission to return to Murshidabad for the adjustment of the account of the stipened of Muhammed Riza Khan.

On October 3rd, the Daniells had "breakfast with Mr. Pott in his boat and made a few memorandums of the boat." On October 12th, William Daniell "made a sketch of one of the Dyes (dhaes) from Zoffany's picture of "Mrs. Brewers" (Bruere's)(90) children for Mr. Pott. On the morning of

(86) *Public Department Records, Press Lists*, vol. XI, p. 359.

(87) *Do.*, vol. XII, p. 608.

(88) Edward Otho Ives. Arrived as Writer, 18 October 1773 ; Assistant at Murshidabad, 1774 ; Factor with the same duties, 1779 ; Persian translator at Murshidabad, 1780 ; Junior Merchant and Judge of the Adalat at Murshidabad, 1782 ; Senior Merchant and Resident at the Court of Oudh, 1788 ; at home and out of the Service, 1794. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, vol. XIV, p. 66 and vol. XXXV, p. 122.

(89) John White. Arrived as Writer, 14 July 1779 ; Persian translator to the Sadr Diwani Adalat 1781 ; Sub-Secretary and Accountant to the Board of Trade, May 1781 ; Remembrancer of the Criminal Court, 1784 ; Sub-Secretary and Remembrancer, 1786-1791 ; Senior Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, 1791 ; Resigned, 1801.

(90) William Bruere. Arrived as Writer, 4 June 1770 ; Assistant in the Secretary's Office, 1771 ; Sub-Import Warehouse Keeper and Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General's Council, 1773 ; Sub-Secretary to the Supreme Council and Paymaster of Works, 1775 ; Factor and Assistant Secretary to the Governor-General and Council, 1776 ; also Paymaster of Works, 1777 ; Junior Merchant holding the same Offices, 1779, Senior Merchant Assistant Secretary in General Department and Paymaster of Works, 1782 ; Without employment, 1787 ; Commissioner of the Court of Requests, 1791 ; Out of the Service, 1796. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, vol. XIV, p. 61, and vol. XXVIII, p. 212.

October 13th (1789) the Daniells took a farewell of Col. Martin's bungalow and spent the day with Pott. His (W. Daniell's) Uncle "made Mr. P. a drawing of the Tamarind Tree in Mr. Ives' compound, myself copying a sketch from Zoffany for Mr. P." They next met at Allahabad on October 29th. "Mr. and Mrs. Pott and family passed the strong water abt. 6 O.C. and brought too (*sic*) close to us abt. 7". The evening was spent with them and also the following one. On the 31st they "dined with Mr. Pott and family in the Palace" and "took with them our drawings, to look at in the evening." The Potts' pinnacle "got under weigh" on November 2nd, and they took leave of them.

A letter was sent in December 1791 by Messrs. J. & T. Gowan to Mr. E. Hay, Secretary, requesting that the salary bills for Mr. R. P. Pott for November and December, 1790 might be passed.(91)

Some letters were written by E. H. Pott to William Hickey. The first, with invoices for guns for Bob Pott was dated 2nd April, 1791, and the second, the 16th of the same month. A further gun was sent 10th May, 1791, to Hickey who was then in Calcutta.

On the 20th January 1792, Pott wrote from Lucknow to E. Hay, Secretary, explaining the delay in the submission of his subsistence bills for November and December, 1790, and requested payment of the same.(92)

On 23rd October 1792, Pott wrote, from Lucknow, requesting permission to go on an excursion to Agra and Delhi.(93)

Robert Pott died on June 22nd 1795, apparently in Lucknow, and his brother E. H. Pott died at about the same time in England. The inscription on Sally Pott's tomb describes her husband as "resident of Lucknow," so I suppose that city was his headquarters until his death.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of November 26th, 1795, announces the forthcoming sale by Messrs. Tulloh Pierce & Co. of Pott's effects which include paintings and drawings by Daniell, Devis, Hodges and (George) Farington and "a set of large-sized drawing books with coloured drawing paper, entitled Sketches from Asia."

Pott says in his will (of which a copy is):—

"In the name of God, Amen. I ROBERT POTT of Moorshedabad in the province of Bengal being in good health of body and sound mind memory and understanding but being desirous to settle my worldly affairs whilst I have capacity so to do do make public this my last will and testament hereby revoking and making void all my former wills by me at any time heretofore made. First I do will and bequeath unto my cousin George Cruttendon NOW a Lieutenant in the Service of the India Company on the Bengal establishment the sum of pounds sterling of Great Britain two thousand. My worldly property is too small to admit of my evincing my love and affection towards my relations and friends by pecuniary donation their situation in life does

(91) *Public Department Records, Press Lists*, vol. XIII, p. 357.

(92) *Do.*, vol. XIII, p. 386.

(93) *Do.*, vol. XIV, p. 242.

not require it and I flatter myself such testimony is not wanted to convince them that I dearly loved them to my last hour. Unto my brother The Rev. Joseph Holden Pott I do give and bequeath in testimony of the affection I hold him in all my drawings and portfolios together with the portrait of his friend Emily painted by Romney. Unto my cousin Lt. G. Cruttenden aforementioned I do bequeath the portrait of his old friend Emily painted by Dance Unto my much esteemed and most excellent friend Mr. William Wilberforce Bird of London I do give and bequeath my watch and chain. Unto my much esteemed and much loved friend Major George Russell in the Service of the East India Company on the Bengal establishment in token of my esteem and regard I do give and bequeath the picture of his old friend Emily painted on ivory by Sherif and his choice of the best horse in my stable and unto my beloved wife Sarah Pott late Sarah Cruttenden I do hereby will and bequeath the whole residue of all my fortune both real and personal nominating her my said wife Sarah Pott late Sarah Cruttenden residuary legatee and joint EXECUTOR with the above mentioned Lieutenant George Cruttenden Major George Russell and Mr. Thomas Trant of Bengal late in my service as secretary who I hereby nominate and appoint to be the EXECUTORS of this my last will and testament in India and I also appoint John Ravel Frye Edward Holden Pott and Samuel Compton Cox and Sarah Pott my beloved wife to be the EXECUTORS of this my last will in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

"IN WITNESS whereof I the said Robert Pott have hereunto set my hand and seal at Lucknow this twenty fifth day of March Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and ninety one ROBERT POTT.

"Signed sealed published and declared by the above named Robert Pott as and for his last will and testament in the presence of each other who have subscribed our names as Witnesses thereto

“(Signed) RICH. WILLOUGHBY,
ROBERT GREGORY,
J. H. BELLAS.

"A true copy carefully collated by me with the original remaining in the Registry of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

“(Signed) WM. JACKSON.
“Proved 14th April, 1796.”

Sarah Pott applied to Government for financial relief, her husband's Executors having found that there were not sufficient assets to satisfy the creditors. She stated that a legacy of upwards of £2,000, bequeathed to her just before her marriage, by a deceased relative, was "entirely lost".⁽⁹⁴⁾ She was granted a pension of Rs. 325-9-2 a month for life subject to the confirmation of the Company. The latter in their despatch of 9 May, 1797, in

(94) Bengal Public Consultations, 8 February 1796.

reply to a letter on the subject,(95) informed the Governor-General that "we cannot yield to your earnest solicitations in favour of Mrs. Pott to the extent that is proposed". They agreed, however, to the allowance being continued to her until the departure of the returning ships to Europe, and that she should receive a pension of £100 a year in England during her widowhood. She was to have a reasonable allowance for her passage home, should her circumstances be so distressful a nature as to require such an indulgence. On 8 March 1798, she wrote from Bhagalpur soliciting that she might be allowed to stay in India until the departure of the ships in the year 1799.(96) In January 1800, she asked that the pension allowed her by the Court of Directors might be paid in Calcutta from the date on which her former allowance ceased.(97) She appears to have been living or staying with her brother, George Cruttenden, then in command of the Patna Provincial Battalion, Dacca, when, as the result of an accident, she died on 18th September, 1807, and was buried at Dacca. After her death her effects were sold, as had been done with those of her husband.(98) It was quite soon after this that William Hickey went home.

Although Hickey says that he and Robert Pott were friends up to the time of Pott's death he never mentions Robert again after relating the loss of his appointment, and speaking of his marriage. But I suspect that Hickey was as much mixed up with Bob's and Sarah's affairs as ever to the end of their lives.

The Romney portrait of Emily was sold and Joseph Holden Pott never had it. He was at one time Vicar of Kensington and to Kensington the portrait came some years ago when Captain Jack Spink bought it from a Swedish gentleman (whose grandfather had bought it in Calcutta), and exhibited it at the Ideal Homes Exhibition, where on a wall by itself, I think on a black velvet background, the auburn-haired Emily with her dazzling fairness and perfect features seemed to light up the whole place.

I have a great liking, too, for S. W. Reynolds's engraving of the Thais portrait in which the girl looks absolutely angelic.

If Hickey spared anyone in his *Memoirs* it was Robert Pott and there is little more about him written by William than Pott's nearest relatives

(95) In complying with Mrs. Pott's application notwithstanding your Orders of the 15th of April and 3rd of July 1795, we rely for our justification on the well known necessitous circumstances of the Widow of a Gentleman who had been upwards of twenty-one years in your Service, the attention particularly due to them from the general esteem in which Mrs. Pott is held, and the humanity of your Hon'ble Court, so often interested in cases of distress.

We are confident that these considerations will induce you to sanction this deviation from the strict letter of your Orders, in favour of a Solicitation possessing claims to regard, which we are satisfied would have ensured to it the most ready attention, had it been preferred immediately to yourselves. (Extract from Public Letter, 7 March 1796).

(96) *Public Department Records, Press Lists*, vol. XVI, p. 266.

(97) *Do.* vol. XVII, p. 309.

(98) Her estate realised Sc. Rs. 27,007. This amount was paid over by the Administrator "to George Cruttenden Esquire one of the next of Kin of the deceased and Agent of Alice Cruttenden widow the mother and Elizabeth Cruttenden the sister the remaining next of Kin of the deceased (*Bengal Inventories*, 1813, vol. 2. p. 1736).

already knew. With all their failings and faults and even grievous sins, Robert Pott and William Hickey had an amazing love the one for the other, and love sometimes covers a multitude of sins. Hickey does not deny Robert's shortcomings but he certainly does not dwell on them.

I doubt if he knew about Bob's letters to Impey which by no means show the writer in the most favourable light but doubtless Pott often let his pen, as well as his tongue, run away with him.

We are indebted to the Rev. Alfred Percevall Pott, the owner of the portrait of Bob Pott, by George Romney, for permission to reproduce it as an illustration to this article and also to Messrs. Spink and Sons Ltd., the former owners of the same artist's painting of Emily for permission to reproduce a print from their negative of the picture.

Our thanks are also due to Mr. Stanley Pott, brother of the Rev. A. P. Pott for information regarding the various branches of the Pott family and most especially to Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., who has annotated this account of Robert Pott and has thus added enormously to its historical value as well as to any interest it may have for the general public.

EDITH HUMPHRIS.

Monumental Inscriptions, Third Series

PART III.

MAIN CEMETERY, KARACHI.

(A few M. I. from this cemetery appeared as Nos. 893-912 in this series).

- 1578. Maria COTTON, daughter of Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. COTTON, H. M. 28th Regt., d. 13 Oct. 1843, aged 18 years.
- 1579. (*On same monument as Nos. 6, 7 and 8 below*). Marion Fanny, wife of Lieut. Richmond J. CRAWFORD, 1st Belooch Regt., d. Karachi 26 Sept. 1864, aged 21.
- 1580. Elizabeth, wife of P. M. DALZELL Esq., Deputy Collector of Customs, d. Manora 26 Dec. 1855, aged 31.
- 1581. Clara, daughter of late Lieut.-Col. BOLTON, d. Karachi 28 Dec. 1862.
- 1582. Diana Janie WALTON, wife of H. Isaak Walton Esq., d. 8 Sept. 1863, aged 23.
- 1583. Caroline, wife of Capt. H. T. VINCENT, 7th N. I., d. 4 July 1856, aged 32 ; also her infant daughter.
- 1584. Cornwallis John Weltden, son of Lieut. and Mrs. C. O. MAUDE, d. 20 Aug. 1856, aged 6 years, 9 months.
- 1585. Eliza wife of T. G. PRINCE, Supt. of Cotton Experiments in Scinde, d. Karachi 3 Sept. 1855, aged 29.
- 1586. Sidney Henry SWAFFIELD, Lieut. H. M. 51st L. I., d. Karachi 8 May 1858.
- 1587. John Bell, son of Capt. and Mrs. DUNSTERVILLE, d. 2 Nov. 1854, aged 2 years, 5 months.
- 1588. George B. STACK, Capt. 24th N. I., d. 9 Dec. 1853, aged 33.
- 1589. John MACLEOD Esq., Deputy Collector of Customs, d. Karachi 23 Dec. 1855, aged 50.
- 1590. Lieut. William Henry BEATTY, H. M. 86th Regt., d. Karachi 17 Aug. 1854, also his infant daughter, d. 31 Aug. 1854.
- 1591. Emily Louise, wife of Capt. C. F. KEAYS, Bombay Staff Corps, d. Karachi 7 May 1865, aged 26.
- 1592. William KERMAN, b. at Spremberg, Nether-Lausitz, Prussia, 20 Nov. 1827, d. Karachi 30 April 1865.

1593. Fredk. Edward WILSON, Lieut. 95th Regt., b. 25 May 1840, d. Karachi 31 March 1866.
1594. Rowley Ward Leeds Esq., youngest son of Sir G. W. LEEDS Bart. of Croxton Park, Cambs., d. Kiamari 25 Jan. 1862, aged 37.
1595. Chas. Rowley, only child of Rowley Ward LEEDS, Lieut. Indian Navy, d. 20 May 1855, aged 1 year 7 months.
1596. Julia, wife of Major MAUGER, Bombay Army, b. Lyons 20 May 1817, d. Karachi 6 Sept. 1861.
1597. Annie Sarah, daughter of Lieut. W. ATTHILL, H. M. 89th Regt., b. 3 January 1862, d. 28 April 1863 ; also her infant sister Mary.
1598. Maria Louisa Keith, only daughter of Col. HOBSON, Bombay Fusiliers, d. 18 April 1866, aged 22.
1599. John Thom. SANDERSON, M.D., Bombay Medical Service, eldest son of Henry Sanderson Esq., Musselburgh, Scotland, d. 15 Feb. 1864, aged 44.
1600. Judith Ann Norris, wife of Arthur NOVELLE de FLEURIMONT Esq., d. Karachi 1 June 1865, aged 27.
1601. Peter Evans DONALDSON Esq., Civil Engineer, d. Karachi, 13 Aug. 1866.
1602. Ralph Fletcher CUMMING, b. Liberpool 10 Dec. 1820, d. Karachi 11 Feb. 1870.
1603. Capt. Jeremish COLEMAN, Bombay Invalid Establishment, d. Karachi 8 Feb. 1869, aged 59 years 3 months 14 days.
1604. Lieut. Henry Campbell MCDIARMID, R. E., son of Surgeon John Duncan McDiarmid, 70th Regt., b. 30 July 1843, d. Karachi 7 Apr. 1873.
1605. Charlotte, wife of John W. HENRY, Executive Engineer P.W.D., d. 9 June 1874.
1606. Susan Ellen, wife of Lionel Darcy DUNSTERVILLE, b. 17 March 1835, d. 25 June 1875.
1607. Edward Francis MONEMENT, drowned in Karachi harbour, 20 July 1876, aged 29.
1608. Edward SMART, late Postmaster, Karachi, died 10 Dec. 1876, aged 55.
1609. Laura Lysaght Brown, wife of Col. T. BROWN, comdg. 83rd. County of Dublin Regt., b. 9 May 18—, d. 22 July 1877.
1610. Henry Herbert SMALLPIECE, Capt. 66th Regt., d. Karachi 12 Apr. 1879, aged 33.
1611. Thos. OLIVER, late Pensioner Punjab Flotilla, Sukur, d. 15 Apr. 1878, aged 59 years 10 months 8 days. Also his daughter.
1612. Annie, wife of Revd. J. J. BAMBRDDGE, C.M.S., Karachi, d. 27 Feb. 1877, aged 27.
1613. Frances, wife of Peter GOODALL of the Church Mission in Sind, d. Karachi 1 May 1885, aged 27.

1614. Capt. Jahleel Brenton CAREY, 2nd Bn. North Stafford Regt., d. Karachi 22 Feb. 1883, aged 35 years 6 months. "Being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Rom. V.i. [The officer to whom blame was attached in connexion with the death of the Prince Imperial, but who has been, in some part at least, vindicated in the late Lieut.-Col. F. E. Whitton's book "Service Trials and Tragedies."]
1615. Robert BURTON, civil engr., d. Karachi 19 January 1882, aged 67.
1616. Matthew George 2nd son of Quartermaster Matthew ROBINSON, 18th Bde. R. A., d. 13 July 1871, aged 1 year 2 months 21 days.
1617. Gabriel RODRIGUES, late Subedar Major 1st Grenadier Regt. N.I., d. 10 Dec. 1893, aged 90 years.
1618. Capt. John SUMPTON, late of the *Royal Sovereign*, d. 2 Sept. 1875, aged 43.
1619. Thos. Daley FLEMING, late of Liverpool, commander Indus Steam Flotilla, d. 3 July 1889, aged 59 years, 9 months.
1620. David McKENZIE, engineer and contractor, d. at sea near Aden on his way home, 10 May 1876, aged 38.
1621. Julius STEEL of Bremen, d. 18 Oct. 1875, aged 28.
1622. Adam Thompson PRINGLE, Ind. Medl. Dept., b. 22 Dec. 1855, d. 19 Oct. 1879.
1623. John Hamilton MERCER, chief officer H.M.T. Umballa, b. Harrington, Scotland, d. Karachi hospital 10 Aug. 1917, aged 38.
1624. Ernest Henry WALLER, Lieut. R. Fusiliers, b. 21 March 1866, d. 22 March 1893.
1625. Georgina, wife of Surgeon-Capt. T. BROWNING, d. 17 Dec. 1891. Also their child Juliet, d. Chakrata 26 Oct. 1891.
1626. Sara Charlotte widow of George ELANDER, Engineer, for Canals, Karachi Collectorate, d. Karachi 21 June 1890, aged 63 years, 6 months.
1627. Joanna, wife of E. W. MARSTON, Retired List, d. 5 Sept. 1889, aged 44.
1628. Lieut. Wm. YOUNG, Salvation Army, d. 14 March 1895, aged 53.
1629. Arthur Henry GALE, Constable Karachi Police, d. 26 August 1888, aged 44.
1630. Edith, wife of Lieut. H. H. SOUTHEY, 7th Bombay Lancers, d. 27 May 1892, aged 27.
1631. Henry Wm. BARNET, officer British India Steam Navigation Co., d. Karachi 27 January 1890, aged 23.
1632. Osmond Harry Moncrieff JOHNSON, son of Capt. Johnson, Army Pay Dept., and Louisa his wife, b. 24 Sept., 1880, d. 4 July 1881.
1633. Capt. J. R. ARTHUR, Supply and Transport Corps, d. 7 Feb. 1917.
1634. Capt. Wm. S. PROCTER, S. S. "Leeds City", d. Karachi 16 Sept. 1917, aged 50.

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1635. Lieut. Edmond Thyrcel TRAFFORD, 1st Garrison Bn. Norfolk Regt., 3rd s. of Wm. Thyrcel Trafford of Mooi River, Natal, d. 10 May 1916, aged 24.
 1636. Capt. and Adjutant Wm. Alexander HAGGER, 126th Baluchistan Infy., d. 12 July 1915, aged 31.
 1637. John AVERY of Truro, England, second-lieut. 2/4th D.C.L.I., d. Karachi 1 Feb. 1915, of an accident.
 1638. Arthur Cecil BURROWS, of Manchester, second-lieut. 8th Cheshire Regt., d. 5 June 1916 of wounds recd. in Mesopotamia, aged 24.
 1639. Grabstaette von H. GEHREN, 1 offizier der O.D.G. "Hansa" Gestorben den 29ten Nov. 1912. Alter 35 jahre.
 1640. Robert Allen Varenne, son of Lieut.-Col. R. F. BREWESTER, R.A., d. 1 March 1915, aged 2 yrs.
 1641. Arthur Eric Willoughby STEWARD, I.C.S., d. Karachi 27 July 1913, aged 28. Elder son of late Arthur Bennett Steward, I.C.S.
 1642. Jean Armstrong DAVIES, widow of Capt. Evan Davies, Royal Indian Marine, d. 19 Feb. 1911.
 1643. Capt. W. B. GEORGE, I.S.M.D., d. 24 May 1910, aged 50. (Also two daughters).
 1644. John Noel WALLACE, son of Major W.B. Wallace, Suffolk Regt., b. 23 Oct. 1901, d. 25 Feb. 1905.
 1645. Ismay Josephine PATCH, only child of Major F. R. PATCH, R.A., d. 20 Feb. 1912, aged 2 years.
 1646. Sec. Lieut. Thos. Chambers de la Poer BERESFORD-PIERSE, Unattd. List I.A., younger son of Lieut.-Col. W. B.-P. and Mary his wife, d. Karachi 5 Nov. 1911, aged 20.
 1647. Sec. Lieut. Richard Lionel RICHMOND, R.F.A., son of late Col. R. O. Richmond and Amy his wife, d. 27 March 1909, aged 20.
 1648. Gwendolen Margaret, wife of Capt. Byron Leicester, Cheshire Regt., d. 28 Dec. 1908.
 1649. Helen Louisa, wife of M.D. MACKENZIE Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Thar and Parkar, Sind, d. 3 Oct. 1908.
 1650. Second Lieut. Ernest Walker CHAPMAN, 24th Regt., d. of fever 18 Dec. 1905, aged 22.
 1651. John Percival VAUGHAN, I.C.S., husband of Mabel V., d. 31 May 1906, aged 34.
 1652. Isabella Jane TICKELL, widow of Capt. Chas. Tickell, Indian Navy, d. 24 March 1904, aged 70. (Same grave) Chrsitiana Isabella, wife of W. A. DUBOIS, d. Karachi 31 May 1920.
 1653. Capt. Bertram Hammersley ROOKE, R. E., d. 15 Oct. 1903, aged 33.
 1654. Adeline Louise Lesslie, wife of Capt. Harry Prevost E. PARKER, 29th Baluch Regt., d. Karachi 9 Dec. 1902, and was interred here, afterwards removed to her native land, Melbourne, Australia.

1655. Lieut. Edward Charles BLAKENEY, 36th Jacob's Horse, d. 20 January 1919, aged 23.
1656. Major John Wishart LITTLE, I.M.S., d. Karachi 7 May 1918, aged 41.
1657. Capt. J. W. CORRIDON, R.A.M.C., d. 20 Nov. 1917.
1658. Lieut. B. I. H. JOACHIM, I.M.S., d. 20 Oct. 1918.
1659. Major QUADROS, d. 3 July 1931, aged 70. Clara, wife of Major L. G. Quadros, d. 28 July 1919, aged 53.
1660. Lieut.-Col. Charles Clifford TEE, R. Ulster Rifles and O. C. Karachi Corps, Auxiliary Force (India), d. Karachi 14 July 1922, aged 39.
1661. Capt. D. S. de LIMA, I.M.S., d. 15 Oct. 1909, aged 72. Also his wife Regina, d. 7 July 1888, aged 36.
1662. Capt. L. J. E. GARCIA, M.C., York and Lancaster Regt., b. 6 January 1873, d. Karachi 1 July 1922.
1663. Flight-Lieut. Edward Ernest PORTER, M.B.E., D.C.M., R.A.F., d. Karachi 19 May 1827.
1664. Flying Officer Kenneth Noel SMITH, R.A.F., d. Karachi 14 April 1935.
1665. Molly, wife of Lieut.-Col. Arthur Sidney HAY, D.S.O., Commandant 2/5th Mahratta L. I., d. 8 January 1925.

KARACHI, old cemetery near Convent.

(Note : certain M. I. from this cemetery appeared as nos. 869 to 885 in these Lists).

1666. Lieut. G. F. THORNE, 14th Bombay N. I., died 6 May 1844, aged 22.
1667. Jane Elizabeth, infant daughter of Capt. and Mrs. H. HAMILTON, H.M. 78th Highlanders. Died 29 June 1844.
1668. Mary Bella, daughter of Capt. W. J. OTTLEY, 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry, died 25 July 1844.
1669. Capt. A. MEADOWS, 18th Bombay, N.I., died Karachi 6 July 1844, aged 37.
1670. Mary, wife of the Rev. C. C. T. SCHREIBER, the first Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Sind, landed in India 25 Oct. 1850, died 11 March 1851.
1671. Capt. C. N. (?) COCKRANE, H.M. 64th Regt., died 27 August 1850, aged 39 years 3 months.
1672. Charles NELSON, died 25 July 18—. Erected by his mother and brothers, Capt. and—Nelson, H.M. 40th Regt.
1673. Thomas Somers ARMSTRONG, 60th Rifles, died Karachi, 10 June 1847, aged 26.
1674. Henry BARRON, Esq., in command of H. C. Ship *Berenice*, died 7 May 1847, aged 29.
1675. Henry B. ARCHER, Lieut. H.M. 86th Regt., died 23 July 1846, aged 25, leaving a wife and two infants.

1676. Lucy Sophia, wife of John HARVEY, died 15 Feby. 1848, aged 43.
1677. Margaret SMITH, died 30 April 1851, aged 39 years 6 months, and Sarah SMITH, died 12 January 1851 aged 1 year 8 months, wife and daughter of Colonel Smith, H.M. 83rd Regt.
1678. Ensign Charles WADDINGTON, 17th Bombay N.I., died 5 January 1846, aged 21.
1679. Lieut. William MARRIOTT, 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry, died 21 August 1845, aged 30.
1680. Lieut. W. WISEMAN, 2nd Bombay European Light Infy., died 20 Nov. 1843.

GHARIAL, PUNJAB.

At Gharial, a summer military station in the Murree Hills, Punjab, there are two cemeteries. The older contains no M.I. of historical importance: the following are from the newer:—

1681. Regimental memorial to 18 N.C.Os., men, women and children of the 2nd Bn. Royal Sussex Regt. who died in the Muree Hills in 1888.
1682. Surgeon Capt. H.N. KENNY, Army Medical Staff, died of cholera 4 Sept. 1892, aged 31.
1683. Sarah Louise, wife of Lieut. & Quartermaster Arthur LANDER, 5th Fusiliers, died at Gharial 25 June 1910, aged 39.
1684. Lieut. Lionel Ormiston VAVASOUR, N. Stafford Regt., second son of Albert Carter and Elizabeth Vavasour, of Weston Manor, Yorks., born 29 Aug. 1889, died 24 July 1915.

JUNAGADH STATE, KATHIAWAR.

The following M.I. have been furnished by the kindness of Sir Patrick Cadell, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (retired), formerly Chief Minister of Junagadh State. The notes in square brackets are from material given by him.

JUNAGADH, near shrine of Jamal Shah, Datar Pir.

1685. 1820. Sacred to the memory of Joseph Dykes, infant son of Major F. D. BALLANTINE. [Major Ballantine was the first Political Officer at Junagadh; and built a small mosque near the famous Datar shrine in order to preserve his son's grave].

JUNAGADH, European cemetery.

1686. Clive English Brook FOX...born July 13th 1915, died August 15th 1916. [Son of E. Brook Fox, State Engineer].

KESHOD, in compound of Nawab's palace.

1687. Sacred to the memory of Alice BREMNER. Died May 24th, 1888, aged, 33 years. [Wife of railway engineer].

VADAL, near Junagadh.

1688. Sacred to the memory of Arthur GOODWIN. Died 19th May 1888, aged 30 years. [Probably engaged on railway construction].

VERAWAL, European cemetery.

1689. In memory of D.M. DILL, 2nd Officer B.I.S.N. Co.'s S.S. *Euphrates*, who died at sea 13th March 1888.
1690. In memory of W. C. KOELLE, 2nd Officer B.I.S.N. Co.'s S.S. *Pārūlea*, who died at sea 22nd January 1893.

Portuguese territory on mainland, opposite Diu and just outside Junagadh boundary.

1691. QUME GREAVET CONSERVET CAPT. MATHEW WOOD COMMANDER OF THE SHIPP WELCOME DEPARTED THIS LIFE SEPTEMBER THE 19 ANNO DOMINI 1653. [The first two words are corrupt owing perhaps to recutting of the inscription. The 'Welcome', 240 tons burthen, was sent to Surat in March 1653 under hire to the committee of the united joint-stock of the E. I. Company. Six cases of knives were directed to be sent in it to the Governor of 'Diewee' (Diu). Her log is not extant; but in a letter from Surat to the Company dated 26 Nov. 1653 it is stated: "The present you sent to the Captain of Dio was delivered him by Captain Wood, Commander of the Welcome, who, about a month after his arrival here died of a feaver, the 3rd day of his sickness" (Court Minutes of the E. I. Company, vol. IV)].

HINDUBAGH, Baluchistan.

The cemetery is in the N.W. corner of the Political Agent's Garden, and contains 6 graves, with inscriptions as follows:—

1692. R.I.P. Henry JACOB. Dec. 10, 1919.
1693. Stanley P. R. HOLLOWAY, died Nov. 2, 1919.
1694. Lieut. A. THOMPSON, 3/9th Bhopal Infantry, killed on July 22, 1919.
1695. F. GILBERT, 1st Norfolk Regt., died 10 August, 1917.
1696. Pte. A. HEWSLEY, 1st Norfolk Regt. died 10 August, 1917.
1697. Pte. H. GOOCH, 1st Norfolk Regt., died 10 August, 1917.

(The three men of the Norfolks are said to have been drowned in a spate).

H. BULLOCK,
Major.

An Unpublished Letter of Lord Clive.

THE Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall have acquired by purchase an interesting holograph letter in the handwriting of Lord Clive. It is dated "Berkeley Square 20th May 1764" and is addressed to "John Spenser Esqr. Bengal." Spenser was a civil servant on the Bombay establishment whom the Court of Directors had appointed to be second in Council at Fort William, with succession to the Governorship and had assumed office on December 3, 1764, on the departure for Europe of Henry Vansittart who had been brought up from Madras and had taken charge on July 27, 1760. The main object of Clive's letter was to soften the news of the cancellation of his appointment, which was decided upon by the Court on April 27, 1764. It does not appear that Spenser became Governor of Bombay, as Clive hoped he would, for Charles Crommelin held that office from February 28, 1760 to January 27, 1767. But Spenser's stay in Bengal was not without profit to himself, for he received a "present" of £23,333 in 1765 upon the succession of Nawab Najm-ud-daula to the *gadi* of Murshidabad. He died in July 1767 while on the voyage to Europe.

Certain other events which are mentioned in the letter may be briefly summarized. The annual election of Directors of the Company had taken place on April 12, 1764; and after a strenuous contest, Laurence Sullivan, a bitter opponent of Clive, lost the substantial majority which he and his party had gained at the previous election. He procured the return of twelve of the twenty-four Directors, while the remaining twelve seats were won by the friends of Clive. The effect was seen when the chairs were chosen on the following day. Thomas Rous, a staunch supporter of Clive, was elected Chairman and the returning Deputy Chairman, Sullivan, was replaced by Henry Crabb Boulton who was another member of Clive's party. On March 28 he had informed the Court that he could not accept service if Sullivan remained at the head of the Direction. But on April 19 when the tide had turned in his favour, he interviewed the new Court and on April 27 after another interview obtained from them the cancellation of Spenser's nomination to the Bengal Council, and his transfer to Bombay.

On April 30 he was sworn in as President of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in Bengal. Contrary to the statement made in the letter, it was at his own suggestion and not at "Mr. Sullivan's instigation" that the General Court resolved on May 5 that covenant should be entered into by the servants of the Company binding them not to receive gifts presents or rewards in India. Clive sailed from Portsmouth in the *Kent* Indiaman on June 4, 1764. There was a narrow escape from shipwreck on the coast of Brazil and Rio de Janeiro was reached on October 7. Here they remained until the

As I imagine this letter
will find You at Bengal, and many will
reproach that I have not acted that friendly
part which was expected from our connections
I shall only say I could not be an Advocate
for your remaining at Bengal without giving
up those Principles which I always professed
upon seeing the ill Consequences of it.

At last's Appointment for our Settlement
to another altho that Appointment was

most ill advised I am

Yours
CWC

end of November and after a quick passage of thirty-four days entered the harbour of the Cape of Good Hope. Finally, after a voyage of ten months, the *Kent* anchored in Madras Roads on April 10, 1765: and on landing there heard the news of the death of Mir Jafir, which had occurred at Murshidabad on February 6.

On the morning of May 3 Clive arrived at Calcutta. He was too late to prevent the payments of £140,000 to Mir Jafir's successor. The new covenants had not been executed, and the Company's servants made hay while the sun still shone.

Into the events of Clive's administration of Bengal it is not necessary to enter. His health broke down and it was a sick man who embarked on board the *Britannia* Indiaman on January 29, 1767. The ship was a bad sailer and the voyage to the Cape was protracted to the end of April. Portsmouth was not reached until July 14.

We reproduce a photograph of the first page of the letter to Spenser and another which shows the signature. The text of the letter is as follows:

THE LETTER.

Dear Sir,

As I imagine this letter will find you at Bengal, and many will represent that I have not acted that friendly part which was expected from our Connections, I shall only say I could not be an Advocate for you remaining at Bengal without giving up those Principles which I always profess'd upon seeing the ill Consequences of Mr. Vansittart's Appointment from one Settlement to another altho that Appointment was owing to my Recommendation, I ever had a most sincere Regard and Friendship for you and have express'd that Regard publicly upon many Occasions, & I hope your Appointment to Succeed Mr. Cromelin at Bombay which I hear is intended (and which I have push'd with great Warmth) will be full as agreeable to you as the remaining where you are, especially as there are to be new Covenants executed not to receive presents, these Covenants have been brought about at Mr. Sullivan's Instigation.

If undertaking another Voyage is in every Respect very disagreeable and very inconvenient to my Family indeed there is nothing but the Point of Honor which carries me out, & I shall certainly return in Twelve Months after my Arrival.

You will receive all the News from many Hands. Mr. Sullivan is as much reduced as a man can be who still remains in the Direction, I must say that I think he was making hasty Strides towards this Company's Destruction. Untill I have the Pleasure of seeing you, I am

Berkeley Square
20th May 1764.
To John Spenser, Esqr. Bengal.

Dear Sr
Y. most oblig'd hum. Ser.
Clive
E. C.

French mercenaries in the Jat Campaign of 1775-1776.

(Translated from the manuscript journal of the Comte de Modave).

Modave at Delhi.

ON arriving at Delhi, Modave had his first audience of the Emperor Shah Alam II. on 22nd April 1775, through the royal favourite, Abdul Ahad Khan, Majd-ud-daula, whom the French count describes thus: "Abdul Ahad Khan, the minister, is an old man, venerable by reason of his handsome mien and the whiteness of his beard. He is a Kashmiri and one would take him for a European from the vivacity of his manners and the whiteness of his complexion. (Pp. 101—104).

[254] The Padishah gave me Rs. 2,500 per month besides Rs. 200 to my writer and Rs. 248 for my chief domestic servants. Messrs. Dieu and Moncelet had obtained, the one Rs. 600 and the other Rs. 400 as pay per month. On the expiry of the term [month?] they gave us only half that salary and that too with so much of delay and difficulty that it was quite easy to foresee that this half itself was not very much assured to us.

M. Madec, who had joined the army of Nawab Najaf Khan with his own troops, wrote to me that he was going to take possession of the new jagirs which the Nawab had added to his old ones, that he had suspended his departure for a few days in order to give me time to arrive at the general quarters, where he would present me to the Nawab. . . . I thanked him in reply . . . He insisted on the promptitude and necessity of my departure [from Delhi.]

Najaf Khan restores Kama and makes peace with the Rajputs of Jaipur.

[255] Abdul Ahad Khan made many difficulties in giving me this permission [to go from Delhi to Najaf Khan's camp.]

The army [of Najaf Khan] was then at Barsana, 60 kos to the south of Delhi. The Jats and the Rajputs in union were present, and everything created the belief that a general action between the two armies was inevitable. Eagerness to see a great battle increased the impatience which I felt to arrive before Najaf Khan. I joined him at Barsana after six days of marching. . . . Najaf Khan had already recaptured the capital [Agra], but the Jats still held the four cities of Dig, Bharatpur, Kumbher and Ver, which with their territories form the better part of that province. The troops of the Nawab, having opened the campaign and seized Kama, . . . those worthless people

(the Rajputs) were desirous of entering there at any cost. [256] So, both sides being greatly animated a grand combat appeared to be near and inevitable.

But Sombre, who enjoys great consideration among all the Indian princes, has undertaken to make an accommodation and succeeded in it. He flatters himself that if he can engage the Rajputs to return to their own country, then the Jats left to their own forces alone will more easily agree to an accommodation with Najaf Khan. In consequence he has sounded the dispositions of the Rajput chiefs, and the restitution of Kama with which he flattered them inclined them all of a sudden to the peace.

The treaty was made with a promptitude which is not ordinarily seen in the negotiations of these people. They promised to pay down a sum of seven lakhs of Rupees and to give eleven lakhs every year to Najaf Khan as deduction from the tribute which they owe to the Emperor, with the accrued interest on the arrears from the oldest times!

[257] The troops of Sombre entered into Kama and afterwards restored that city to the Rajputs, as soon as the latter had delivered the hostages for the security of the payment of the sums they had engaged for. Next the army of the Rajputs separated themselves from the Jats and at once took the road to Jaipur. The Jats did not lose heart notwithstanding the defection of their allies. They flattered themselves that the Marathas would come in time to their succour, and so they refused all the proposals for an accommodation that Sombre made to them on behalf of the Nawab. They became the dupes of their confidence, as the end will show.

Some days after his arrival in the camp, Modave was tormented by a high fever. He went to Agra for treatment . . .

Madec routed by the Ruhelas near Fathpur-Sikri.

[258] The Jats have in their service a body of Ruhelas . . . These troops, not having been paid, wished to fall upon the jagirs which Najaf Khan proposed to cede to M. Madec, with the design of establishing themselves there or at least of drawing some contributions thence. As soon as Madec was informed of this movement, he went to Fathpur [Sikri], where he reunited his forces which had been dispersed throughout the extent of his provinces. Next he marched towards the frontier in order to take up a defensive position, and he established his camp seven kos from the post occupied by the Ruhelas. He maintained that position during some days, but as he is of an ardent and impetuous nature, he soon grew weary of such inaction, and took the resolution of marching upon the Ruhelas, wishing to attack them in their camp and disable them for invading his provinces. It was still the height of the rainy season. Rain fell for many days with extreme abundance. All his munitions were spoiled, his arms in a bad condition, and his troops fatigued and disgusted. He did not pay sufficient attention to his conjoint movements and greatly despised his enemies; he imprudently believed that when he marched upon them they would not dare to wait for him.

The Ruhelas, on their part, did not feel less bored in their camp. They were, it is said, informed by faithless harkaras, who have not in fact returned since, about the condition of M. Madec's munitions. They then took the resolution of themselves marching out to attack his camp at the same moment that M. Madec was in movement for approaching their camp.

[259] On the way he found two rivers extremely swollen by the rains, which it was necessary for him to cross,—which increased still more the bad condition to which the preceding rains had reduced his munitions. These two obstacles having been overcome, he believed that he was still five *kos* from the enemy, and wished to encamp in order to repair all these inconveniences. As he was searching for a convenient place to establish his camp in, the vanguard of the Ruhelas appeared, followed immediately by the rest of their troops. It was apparent that they had been informed that the munitions of M. Madec were unfit for use, because they advanced fiercely, sword in hand, their muskets slung from the shoulder-belt, and they charged the first troops whom they met with [too quickly] to give them time to reconnoitre,—sustained by their cavalry which was extended on the left flank of M. Madec's camp with the intention of enveloping it entirely. The attack was so sudden and the disorder sufficiently common in these surprises was so general, that nothing could be done to remedy it on such an unforeseen occasion. There was behind our troops a village capable of holding the baggage and the troops, and it seems likely that if we had been able to occupy it, the enemy would have been worsted ; but the moment for it was lost, and the Ruhelas profited so well by the time and the circumstance that they broke the three battalions without the latter giving battle.

[260] In vain did M. Madec try to arrest the impetuosity of the Ruhelas by some charges of cavalry ; he was not followed by anybody. He found himself in the midst of the enemy, dismounted and wounded and in imminent danger, from which he retired only by his good luck and presence of mind. It was impossible to restore the combat, and he was forced to take to flight, leaving on the field of battle his artillery, elephants, baggage and all those of his camp, half of the Europeans of his party—among others Messrs. Baronnet, Vincent, Dumée, Berville, La Martinière and more than a thousand blacks. The victorious enemy turned to plunder and secured a rich booty. This occupation which came [to them] as unique, saved the debris of that unfortunate camp. It is certain that if they had followed up their advantages, the party of M. Madec would have been destroyed helplessly, but they gave him the time and he knew how to profit by it.

At the end of that disastrous journey which happened on 29 July [1775], M. Madec gathered together the debris of his camp at Fathpur ; and the next morning he returned to Agra, where he arrived fatigued and distressed, but not at all crest-fallen. All his thoughts turned to the means of repairing that check. He distributed money, he spoke to the principal chiefs, and by dint of showing them courage and steadiness, he came to inspire them with it. Six days afterwards, he issued from the city with two battalions well re-established, having sent into his provinces other troops for maintaining his govern-

ment. He cast new pieces in order to form a new park of artillery, and he finally pitched his camp in that very Fathpur which he had left the morning before the battle.

Madec's outburst before Najaf Khan at Govardhan.

[261] As soon as he had taken all these precautions, he considered it his duty to make a journey to the Court, or to speak in the style of the country, to Nawab Najaf Khan. The general had changed his position, having left Barsana for approaching Dig. He was encamped at Govardhan. M. Madec had reason to be disturbed in mind about the impression which the sad journey of the 29th would make on his mind. He had received nothing but cold compliments without the least shadow of reality, although he had asked for his help on which it was natural for him to count.

Najaf Khan is a man of great spirit, originally from Persia, where his great-grandfather had possessed great dignities. He has been elevated by the favour of the Padishah of today and the protection of Shuja-ud-daula to the credit and consideration which he enjoys. He is governor of the realm of Agra,—here called the subadar—and although he is contradicted in all his views by the old Abdul Ahad Khan, who had raised him to the Emperor's confidence, he is all but master in that part of Hindustan. M. Madec was in his service, and he held from him the provinces of which the revenue served for the payment of his troops. It was then important for him (Madec) to know if he had lost the esteem and confidence of Najaf Khan in any way. They wrote to him only contradictory things. He wished to assure himself of his situation by a personal [visit.]

We departed from Agra for the army where we arrived at the commencement of September. The reception which we received left us in no doubt that the enemies of M. Madec had profited by his misfortune and that their insinuations had worked a great change in the Nawab's manner of thought. [262] The usual courtesies were neglected or ordered [to be shown] so slowly and with such bad grace that they became useless. Nobody came on behalf of the Nawab to meet M. Madec. A very small number of the considerable chiefs sent agents to compliment him and he received visits from still fewer. This coldness showed him what he was to expect; he went down to the Nawab's house where I joined him two hours later.

Najaf Khan has preserved the false politeness of the country from which he has come. The Persians are the most deceitful and cajoling people in Asia. All their talk is sweet and affectionate, and their proceedings quite different,—as was said very wittily by a Portuguese of spirit who had long lived among them, that "they will never speak evil nor do good to you." Najaf Kh. spared not caresses and compliments; but when they came to business, there was only ambiguity [=evasive speeches] and he evaded as much as he could the demands which were made to him. M. Madec returned there alone at night, and his ardent nature being heated by the coldness and vagueness of the replies, he burst out in reproaches, and indirect menaces, which in their turn inflamed the choler of Najaf Khan. He told Madec that

it was graceless on his part to talk in such a high tone after having abandoned even the women of his camp to his contemptible enemies. This reproach, extremely insulting in that country, hurt M. Madec more than it deserved in itself. He entirely yielded himself up to his fury and let the most hard things escape his lips concerning the Nawab and those who surrounded him. This quarrel excited a great uproar [263] in the darbar. Many Mughals started up with their sabres and pistols. Najaf Khan alone preserved moderation. If he had uttered one word, or if he had made the least gesture, M. Madec would have perished. At last the tumult was appeased and M. Madec issued from the darbar greatly puzzled by the turn which his affairs had taken.

Two English deserters attack Madec.

There were then in the camp two miserable Englishmen who had fled away from Bengal for their bad acts and meanness. They had been both in the camp of M. Madec, from which their conduct caused them to be equally expelled. They were not ignorant of what had passed in the darbar, and they believed the circumstance to be favourable for a signal vengeance. As they had extremely base hearts, they wished to attempt to extract some money from M. Madec by menaces and by the ridiculous show which they were in a position to make against him. One of these wretches wrote twice to him, that estimating in money the injury which he had done to his reputation, he demanded from him one thousand Rupees as a complete reparation, and that if he refused so moderate and reasonable a demand he would find sufficient means of making him repent of it.

This demand was contemptuously rejected as it deserved to be, and the villain resolved on avenging himself. We issued from dinner and were not dreaming of anything happening when suddenly a frightened man came to us totally out of breath and told us in broken [264] Portuguese, "Mount your horses and save yourselves ; they are coming to slay you." We then heard a loud noise and caught a view of a large body of armed sepoys who were marching towards our tents. Our first care was to force M. Madec to place himself in safety, and make him take refuge with Najaf Khan. Then we went to see what they wanted to do to us. We found that that shameful Englishman, by abusing his power over the sepoys of Fath Ali Khan Durrani, in whose service he [now] was, had engaged them in his quarrel. He had levelled at us at 40 fathoms' distance three pieces of cannon loaded with cartridges, to which he went to set fire during the time the sepoys were advancing under the leadership of his comrade. If one of these sepoys, a more virtuous man than he, had not snatched away the match from his hands, at the moment when he was holding it to the touch-hole, [sentence incomplete in the original.]

Fath Ali Khan, informed of this outrage, came up running entirely in undress, in order to cause these sepoys to turn back. By his order these two villains were arrested, well thrashed and conducted to the guard-room of the camp.

[265] When all was pacified in our quarter. I joined M. Madec in the tent of the Nawab, who had not made his appearance yet. As soon as he showed

himself, he held out his arm to him and received him with an affection apparently full of sweetness and cordiality. One could have sworn that he [Najaf Khan] had nothing in his heart at which M. Madec could be alarmed. He [Madec] flattered himself that his affairs were going to end according to his wishes ; but as soon as he asked for discussing that matter, he felt that there is a great distance between the shadow and the reality. Our stay with this army was for about three weeks and we returned with the certainty that we had nothing good for the moment to expect from Najaf Khan. The new concessions [=jagirs] that he had made [to M. Madec] at Barsana were revoked and given to others on the pretext that he [lit. they] was not in a condition to guard them. The province of Barpenat* given at the same time as Bari, was assigned to M. Sombre for the payment of the sums which were due to him. In the midst of the compliments and caresses . . . they wrapped up all these mortifications. At last they said clearly that they would leave to M. Madec Rs. 30,000 per month for the support of his troops, if the party was in accord with them.

. . . . At last he realised a little later that truly it was necessary for him to reestablish his camp, his artillery and his munitions on a respectable footing, if he wished to recover his former consideration.

. . . . Najaf Khan retrenched a large sum from what he had allowed to me. As I had not received any part of it, the new arrangement annulled the past as lost to me, and there was left to me nothing but the uncertain hope of receiving henceforth the stipends assigned [to me] on the territories which M. Madec would lose from one moment to another. It is this which made me take the resolution of turning my views towards Delhi, with which I had always maintained some correspondence, and where I had played the fool like a devil in wishing to enter into the interests of Najaf Khan.

[266] We returned to Agra, greatly mortified at the fruits we had gained by our journey [to Najaf's camp.] It was necessary to labour earnestly in order to procure them from others. M. Madec devoted himself to this work entirely and he soon put his affairs in such order that he could naturally hope to secure quite a different treatment.

The French mercenaries expelled from Oudh join Madec.

The Frenchmen whom Shuja-ud-daula had taken into his service came to be chased out of Faizabad at the instance of the Calcutta Council. Nearly all of them determined to search for an asylum in Hindustan. For a long time before I had foreseen this emigration, and I had exhorted M. Madec not to entertain them and thereby burden himself with an expense he could not bear. But he accepted all who came as volunteers to his camp and fixed on them a subsistence of Rs. 200 a month, in expectation of more considerable treatment from the Nawab.

* Bari, 18 miles west of Dholpur and 44 miles s. w. of Agra. Barpenat is an error for Bayana, 24 m. s. of Bharatpur and 26 m. n.w. of Bari.

The vanity of having in his suite so large a number of Frenchmen induced him to make a second journey to the Court of Najaf Khan, who gave him a much better reception this time than the last. He was conducted in pomp to the audience of the Nawab, to whom he presented one [277] after another all the sixty Frenchmen, not excluding a cook whom he had retained in his personal service.

In consideration of this increase of Frenchmen, the Nawab gave him eleven thousand Rupees in increase of assignment on Ilich Khan. After he had been furnished with that order and it had been accepted by Ilich Khan, Madec displayed all the baseness of his nature. He dismissed those unhappy Frenchmen for whom he had been granted that very increase [of money.]

Modave, mortally displeased, protests—very lively altercations between them. Most of these men were of a low kind.

His situation having grown most disagreeable, . . . Modave wished to return to Delhi.

[278] Modave wrote to the Padishah and to Abdul Ahad Khan, and sent a writer there for giving him a good account of the state of affairs. He returned with letters for me from the Emperor (conventional compliments only) and the minister (permitting me to return to Delhi if I wished to undertake the Sarhind expedition, and that the Emperor would give me that province and there fix my salary.)

[289] I do not know how to describe the coolness and tranquillity of Najaf Khan in the midst of all these [Court] intrigues, most of which were directed against him. He was informed about their smallest details, and he amused himself by discussing them with his friends. He used ordinarily to say that these petty contrivances were the resource of the weak. He never showed any kind of inquietude, and he calmly pursued his operations against the Jats. It was at this time that he undertook the siege of Dig. As I then made to him many frequent visits, I saw the manner which these Oriental people adopted in order to reduce a strong place. I shall give the details of it.

Description of Dig.

Dig is a large town situated thirty *kos* south-west of Agra. Its circumference is formed by a rampart of beaten earth, of a considerable width, on a height of nearly 30 feet. In the rampart rise, from distance to distance, a set of towers, similarly of earth, which have just a little projection and which they honour with the name of bastions. The interior is not covered by a ditch. There is in the city a masonry-faced fort which does not at all serve for its defence. It is built in a vast plain, and by one of its ends it joins a small hillock where it ends taperingly, which is defended by a very thick earthwork. [290] Three hundred fathoms in front of that work, where the hillock ends, they have raised a redoubt of earth like all the other fortifications, which is flanked by four towers. On the same line with the city, there is eastwards another city named Kumbher, six *kos* from Dig. In the

same direction is found a third and more important city than the other two, named Barpour [=Bharatpur]. . . . Ver, which also belongs to the Jats, has been ruined.

Dig is furnished with a prodigious quantity of artillery, among which there are many pieces of 36 [lb.] Neither powder nor shot is wanting. The powder they make easily in India, all its ingredients being in their hands. It is more difficult for them to make shot, although iron is found at many places on the surface of the earth. They have the art of forging, but they know not that of founding [casting.] They set on fire quantities of (raw) ore of the mineral in order to remove their earthly parts, and they thus make ingots of iron of one or two pounds weight. Then they replace the ingots in the fire and unite them with the hammer and give them a round shape nearly equalling the weight of the calibre of their pieces. As we can see, the procedure is not quick, and hence does it happen that generally speaking their train of artillery is always very badly supplied with munitions.

Najaf Khan's Siege of Dig.

[291] Najaf Khan formed the siege of Dig in the first days of December [1775.] His army not being sufficiently large for regularly investing the place, he encamped on one of its faces, because if he had extended round the city for forming a perfect investment, his forces would have been found divided to such an extent that the men of Kumbher and of Bharatpur would have been easily able to defeat the besieging army in detail. He was therefore constrained to leave nearly three sides of the city at the disposal of the Jats, contenting himself with sending out bodies of cavalry into the plain in order to obstruct a communication which it was impossible for him to cut off.

The Jats of Kumbher and of Bharatpur frequently communicated with those of Dig, and with the aid of some precaution they always succeeded in introducing the convoys asked for from them, so much so that food stuffs always sold in the bazar of the besieged city at a price much below that paid in the siege camp.

Behold the strange practice of these warriors of Hindustan. Every chief made his own attack in isolation against such part of the city as he was pleased to choose, so that these different acts had no co-operation among themselves and did not form a common and combined effort. The trenches were hardly three feet in width and there was no more cover than for them to lie on their length in the connecting (zigzag) trenches, which these people do not fail to do. The batteries are nothing more than a mass of fascines, in which they have left openings for embrasures. [292] They have supported them with posts, nine or ten feet high, which are planted upright (*debout*) or inside (*dedans*) against the fascines. As these bad batteries very easily catch fire, they always have a great provision of water enclosed in others (*dans des outres*) for remedying that inconvenience. The trenches are not cut by the sepoys. Every chief has his *beldars* or peasants on forced labour, who are employed on this work. The artillery is drawn without order and without rule, following the caprice of every chief of the trenches. When the works

are a little advanced towards the body of the place, they set the miners at work. They succeed no better in that part. The underground miners dig their gallery from distance to distance and throw up a small pavilion by the hole [mouth] for judging from the outside the progress and direction of the mine. The enemy do not at all fail to discover that sign and to profit by it so as to destroy the mine of the besiegers after they have discovered it. They break it open at one end and fire within it a large number of muskets, which causes it to be quickly abandoned. In general the mines only run under the surface of the ground. Sometimes they have only 6 or 7 inches of route [thickness of the upper covering.] Thus we see that this labour is as badly done as all others.

It is then not surprising that they fail so much in sieges and that, whenever they succeed, these sieges are all of a disgusting length. I wondered at Dig at the bizareness and ignorance of that proceeding, and when they asked for my advice, I frankly replied that if monkeys attacked each other they would undoubtedly construct such works !

Failure of Assaults on Dig.

The slowness of these works and the small effect produced by the artillery made Najaf Khan fear that he could not issue from that siege with honour. As there is little fidelity in these different services, he flattered himself that some traitors would deliver the place up to him. He always maintained correspondence with the city. At last they promised to admit him to a bastion one night in January. They gave their word to him. He took all his measures in consequence and if these had been followed, there is no doubt that he would have got possession of Dig. M. Madec had the direction of that operation. The sepoy led by Messrs Clemansin, Roset and D'Orson, took possession of one of the towers. If they had been supported and if workmen had been sent to them in time for making a lodgement there and above all for making a ramp on the escarpment of the bastion, by means of which the other sepoy could have mounted in column formation, they could have been extended next on the right and the left and lodged themselves on the curtains and the bastions of the two flanks where they would have maintained themselves till the beldars had sufficiently opened the ramparts for them to enter in crowds. They abandoned those who had seized the bastion. The enemy marched upon them in such large numbers that they were constrained to save themselves by throwing themselves down from the top of the escarpment to the base. This enterprise failed for the reason that they had omitted the most trivial precautions.

After the former I saw two other attempts which had no success. They had prepared ladders and counted upon leaping into the place at a point where they supposed it to be badly guarded, but at the moment of execution, they had information every time that the enemy had anticipated [the attack] and were waiting for the imperialists in large bodies, so that they were compelled to renounce that design.

It is likely that the siege of Dig would have dragged on to a disgusting length or, it may be, even turned entirely to the disadvantage of Najaf Khan, were it not for certain circumstances which changed the face of affairs. There were many factions within the city, [295] where the uncles of the Raja disputed his authority and on some occasions even made open war on him. This vice in the administration of the Jats prevented them from acting effectively against the army of the Nawab, to which he owed 9 or 10 months' salary. His troops rendered service against their hearts and even refused to march whenever they judged that the occasion was of sufficient importance for extracting some money from the *sarkar* by their particular mutinies. If the Jats had been united among themselves, I donot believe that the Nawab had even been in a condition to approach their capital and still less to lay siege to it.

The Ruhelas who had defeated M. Madec had entered into the city with the army of the Jats. These foreign troops had not received for a long time any money as their pay. The discontent which they displayed for this reason, changed very soon into a frightful licence, and these Pathans committed in the city all the excesses they could think of. The Jats at first tolerated it with sufficient patience, which did not fail to excite the insolence of these Ruhelas still more. They very soon began to attack the women on the roads and permitted themselves in that fashion all the liberties of which a French garrison could have given them the example. These gallant enterprises put an end to the patience of the Jats. Women have much influence (*crédit*) over their husbands among these good people. Their complaints excited public indignation. The people tumultuously seized their arms and pounced upon the Ruhelas from all parts. They defended themselves at first in the roads with much courage ; but the multitude of the assailants overwhelmed [296] them in such a way that they would have been all exterminated to the last man, if by a lucky chance their quarter had not been before one of the gates of the city, but taking possession of which they profited by it to save themselves. At least four thousand men perished in this unforeseen tumult. The son of their general remained a prisoner within the city. They abandoned also the booty they had taken from M. Madec.

This disaster to the Ruhelas greatly weakened the garrison of Dig. It thenceforth became a great advantage to Najaf Khan. Fortune began to declare herself in his favour ; she did not wish to leave him while he was getting on so well. There arrived in his camp 20,000 Gosains, or armed monks whom the [296] English had forced the son of Shuja-ud-daula to expel from his service. Najaf Khan received them all the more voluntarily as that species of militia make their living out of war by their wits and do not think of being paid regularly.

Najaf Khan ably profited by this reinforcement to change the plan of his operations against Dig. He well realised that by the method he had adopted he would never force that place. He turned in some sort his siege into a blockade, and communication [with the garrison] from outside was rendered so difficult that very soon provisions there became very scarce and very dear. This is not at all astonishing, because all the people of the fields had retired

to that city, from which one can understand that the daily consumption there must be enormous.

M. Levassout enters Jat service.

[297] Among the Frenchmen arrived from Faizabad there was one who had spirit, intelligence and talents and who was named M. Levassout. Najaf Khan had taken him into his service, but he had not received any money from him, although he had great need, and he saw well that he had nothing to expect from the Nawab. He one day spoke to me of his situation, and I told him, "Why not attempt to enter into the city where you will probably form a large party?" He approved of this idea and told me that he had none who could convey the first proposals. I called my writer and told him to write on M. Levassout's behalf a letter to the diwan of the Rajah, in which he offered his services for the defence of the place, and gave him to understand that Shuja-ud-daula had had so much confidence in him as to have confided to him the direction of all his artillery. I caused this letter to be conveyed to the city by one of my *harkaras* who returned next morning with the diwan's reply, in which he informed M. Levassout that the Raja accepted his offers, that he had only to inform him at which gate of the city he would present himself when he would be given the *parwana* of the Raja for the security of the salary which they had prepared for him.

The *harkara* returned to the city with a second letter from M. Levassout, the object of which was to inform him that on such a day and at such a gate of the city he would present himself, where he hoped to find the orders for admitting him. My *harkara* was again sent by the diwan with the *parwana* of the Raja and many other papers; [298] but this time he [the *harkara*] had not taken proper precautions. He was arrested by the horsemen of the army who took him to the Nawab, who took from him all his letters and after reading them gave them to M. Madec, to be handled over to M. Levassout, without speaking one word more on an adventure which, according to our laws, would have had very bad consequences. But in India [298] it is held that the men whom they do not pay are entirely absolved from any consideration of fidelity towards those whom they serve.

Dig evacuated by the Jats.

The last measures of Najaf Khan succeeded to his heart's desire. In less than six weeks' time the city of Dig,—where provisions had been [once] selling at a lower price than in the camp by which it was surrounded,—became the theatre of a frightful famine. The people were incapable of bearing it. One fine night they issued by some of their gates which open towards the side of Kumbher, where they arrived after some light skirmishes with the scouts of our army. [Dig was evacuated on 30 April 1776.]

As soon as it became known in our camp that the army of the Jats had evacuated the city, our soldiers threw themselves into it with impetuosity for plundering it. Notwithstanding all the measures which were taken for arre-

ting this disorder, there occurred during the first shock much tumult and bloodshed; a number of women and children were killed. The plunderers set fire to the city. The gunpowder, which was of an enormous quantity, was scattered in different buildings. During three consecutive days, explosions leaped up at every moment from the magazines which were equally fatal to the victors and the vanquished. The Musalmans took pleasure in showing their contempt for the religion of the [299] idolators by filling their pagodas with the entrails heads and bones of oxen and kine. Finally, with the exception of the honour of that conquest and the advantage of robbing the Jats of a considerable place, Najaf Khan did not derive any great profit from it. If he had got possession of it by a regular capitulation, he would undoubtedly have gained more there. The numerous artillery with which the city was supplied had in part disappeared. The Jats could not have successfully dragged them away in their train when evacuating the place, but they had found means to throw them either to the bottom of the tanks or into pits, or into the ditch,—and this had not been discovered when I left that country.

Sati by Jat Ranis.

[231] I shall narrate here an incident which happened at the time of the capture of Dig by the army of Najaf Khan. There were still in the seraglio of the last deceased Raja some wives to whom permission had not been given to burn themselves with the body of their husband. One of the chief eunuchs found it out, and represented to them the sad lot which threatened them. He told them, "You are going to pass into the power of the enemy of your religion and of the family of the late deceased whom you have lost. You will be exposed to the greatest indignities if you do not anticipate them by a voluntary death." At last, he succeeded so well in persuading them that [232] these unhappy women prayed to him to procure for them the means of dying quickly. The eunuch could do it in no other manner than to spread a large carpet on the ground, on which these women to the number of three lay down, and he cut their heads one after another, completing that horrible tragedy by killing himself upon the bodies of those three females.

Affairs after the fall of Dig.

The capture of Dig changed the entire face of affairs in the province of Agra and menaced the Jats with inevitable ruin. Their misfortune willed it that the great Maratha chiefs who were [posted] in Hindustan had been obliged to go to Puna, where was made a general assembly of the nation with the object of ending once for all the differences which had divided them during 5 or 6 years. The mother of the Raja of Dig departed from Bharatpur for going to Ujjain, which is about 200 kos [from that place] on the way to the Deccan. She hoped to find there the brave Sindhia who is the greatest man now among the Marathas. The country of Ujjain belongs to him, and he is charged with the collection of the tax (*chauth*) from the Narmada up to the Jamuna. This princess actually found Sindhia at Ujjain, but his troops had

assembled beyond it and his equipages were on the way to Puna. He could not accord to [300] the Rani any considerable succour ; he however sent her back with some money and an order on the Maratha captains dispersed in the country from Kota to Jaipur to assemble and march to the succour of the Jats.

On the other side, the total want of money arrested the progress of Najaf Khan. He lost the first moments which followed the capture of Dig and which he should have employed in capturing Kumbhera and also Bharatpur,—in attempts to collect some money for holding his army together. The exhaustion of his chest was so complete that Najaf Quli Khan and Afrasiyab Khan,—his two adopted sons—proposed to him to give up the city of Agra itself to his army for plunder, on the condition that [300] this condescension would pay off everything which was due to them by the Nawab. He rejected these vile counsels, and by dint of caresses and sweet words he at last collected enough money for giving to his troops four months' salary out of the ten in arrear.

The Ruhelas escaped from Dig had retired to the north of Delhi under the protection of some other corps of their nation, with whose aid they pillaged the territories of Najaf Khan and those of the Emperor himself ; but some troops of the Nawab who were in that part, being reunited, attacked these Ruhelas and succeeded in destroying them. Their chief Mulla Rahimdad Khan was slain in the action, and as his son was still a prisoner in the hands of the Jats, who had carried him away from Dig to Kumbher,—the remainder of this party was entirely dispersed. The head of Mullah Rahimdad [301] Khan was carried to the camp at Dig and presented with ceremony to the Nawab on the day of the grand darbar as a present which ought to be very agreeable to him. He mused for some time, and after having well recognised it, he said that they should take it away ; all this with plenty of calmness.

Sadat Ali Kh escapes from the Court of Asaf-ud-daula to Najaf Khan, who honours him as "the son of the man to whom he owed his fortune". Sadat Ali knew French, which he had been taught by the wife of Colonel Galliez, a Frenchwoman of Chandernagore, during her stay at Faizabad.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Job Charnock's Will

AN enquiry has been addressed to us regarding the contents of Job Charnock's will. This can be found in full in an article on Job Charnock—his Parentage and Will by Sir R. C. Temple, Bart, which was printed in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLVI (1917) pp. 259-260. By the courtesy of Mr. C. A. Oldham C.S.I. we are able to give the extract in full below.

* * * * *

After dealing with the will of Richard Charnock (Job's father), Sir R. C. Temple writes :

'It now only remains to quote the will of Job Charnock who spent at least 37 years of his life in India and ended his days there on the 10th January, 1693. The will was dated from the infant settlement of Chuttanuttee (Sûtanati), afterwards to become famous as Calcutta. So far as I am aware, no complete copy of the document has been printed and I therefore give it in full. (10)

'IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN.

'I Job Charnock at present Agent for Affaires of the Right honorable English East India Company in Bengal being indisposed in body but perfect and sound in mind and memory do make and ordaine this to be my last Will and Testament (*Vizt.*)

'Imprimis I bequeath my soul to Almighty God who gave it and my body to be decently buryed at the discretion of my Overseers and for what estate it hath pleased Almighty God to bless me withall I do hereby will and bequeath it as followeth.

'Secondly I will and bequeath that all debts or claims lawfully made on me be discharged by my Overseers.

'Thirdly I give and bequeath to my beloved Friend Daniel Sheldon (11) Esquire Seventy pounds Sterling as a Legacy to buy him a Ring.

'Fourthly I give and bequeath to the honble. Nath[aniel] Higginson (12) as a Legacy to buy him a Ring four hundred Rupees.

*

'Sixthly[sic] I give and bequeath to Mr. John Hill (13) as a Legacy to buy him a Ring two hundred Rupees and that likewise to be paid out of my parte of the permission Trade Commission one hundred Rupees more in all three hundred Rupees.

(10) *Wills*, P. C. C., *Prerogative Court of Canterbury* 91 *Irby*.

(11) Chief at Kashimbazar, 1658-1665. He returned to England in 1666.

(12) Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, 1692-98.

(13) Captain John Hill, "Secretary and Captain of the Soldiers". See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, II. 92.

* There is no para—"Fifthly"

"Seventhly I give and bequeath to Mr. Francis Ellis (14) as a Legacy to buy him a Ring one hundred and fifty Rupees.

"Eighthly I doe hereby ordaine and appointed [sic] the honble. Nathaniel Higginson President of Madras and Mr. John Beard (15) of Councill in Bengall to be overseers (16) of this my will.

"Ninthly I give and bequeath to the poore of the Parish of Cree Church London the Summe of fifty pounds Sterling.

"Tenthly I give and bequeath to Budlydasse [Badli Dâs] one hundred Rupees and the meanest sort of my sonns Cloathes lately deceased.

"Eleventhly I give and bequeath to the Doctor now attending me fifty Rupees.

"Twelfthly I give and bequeath to my Servants Gunnyshams [Ghansyâm] and Dallub [Dalab] each twenty Rupees.

"Thirteenthly I give and bequeath after the payment of the above mentioned debts Legacies that all my whole Estate in India and elsewhere be equally given and distributed to my three daughters Mary Elizabeth and Katherine only with this reservation that as an addition to my daughter Marys portion there shall be paid her out of my daughter Eliza [beths] and Katherines two thirds Six hundred pounds Sterling.

"Fourteenthly I will and desire my Overseers before mentioned that my three daughters be sent with a convenient handsome equipage for England and recommended to the Care of my well beloved friend Daniell Sheliton [sic] Esqr. in London and that their Estates be invested in goods proper for Europe and sent as by the Right honoble. Companies Permission on as many and such ships as my Overseers shall think convenient.

"Fifteenthly I hereby acquitt Mr. Charles Pate from his debt to me of Fifty Pagodas lent him at the Fort. (17)

"Lastly I will and ordaine the honoble. Daniell Sheldon and my eldest daughter Mary Charnock to be Executors of this my last will and Testament revoaking and disanulling all former or other Will or Wills that have been made in witness whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale this ninth day of January one thousand Six hundred and ninety two [1692/3].

JOB CHARNOCK

Signed and Sealed in the presence of

Jonathan White
Francis Houghton
John Hill."

'Probate was granted on the 12th June, 1695, to Robert Dorrell, attorney to Mary Charnock, Daniel Sheldon renouncing.

(14) Then Second of Council at Hugli. He died at Fort St. George in 1704.

(15) Governor of Bengal, 1701-1710.

(16) Executors in Bengal.

(17) Fort St. George, Madras.

'Job Charnock's behest with regard to his daughters' return to England was disregarded. The three girls, children of his wife, remained in India and married there. Mary became the first wife of Charles Eyre, Charnock's successor as Agent in Bengal. She died on the 19th February, 1697. Elizabeth married William Bowridge, a junior merchant in the Company's service. He died in April, 1724 and his widow survived in Calcutta until August, 1753. Mary Charnock, Job's youngest daughter, married Jonathan White, also a servant of the Company. He became Second of Council and died in Calcutta on the 3rd January, 1704, three years after the death of his young wife.

Editor's Note Book.

BY the death on April 17 of Mr. Robert Hildebrand Anderson, of the Bengal Civil Service (retired), the number of survivors of the siege of Lucknow Survivors. the Lucknow Residency is reduced to nine. All were children at the time of the siege. The youngest, Mr. A. F. Dashwood, was born in the Residency, in Sir Joseph Fayer's house before the first relief and the eldest Mr. C. G. Palmer, C.I.E., who resides in British Columbia and is the son of Gen. Henry Palmer of the 48th Bengal Infantry and first commandant of the Lucknow Regiment, was a boy of ten at the Martinière at the time and received the Mutiny medal with the clasp for Lucknow. Of the seven others four are ladies: Mr. Pryce (Bath) daughter of Major C. E. Bruere of the 13th Bengal Infantry, Mrs. Alpin Thomson (Lymington) whose father Lieut. Lewin of the Artillery was killed on July 26, Mrs. May Hollingbery of 222 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta, whose father Mr. C. T. Vaughan was a master at the Martinière, and Miss Evelyn Darrah (Hove) the daughter of Lieut. H. Z. Darrah, of the 41st Bengal Infantry (a fugitive from Sitapur). The list is completed by, Mr. A. G. Campagnac of Calcutta, Sir Ramsay Couper (Australia) and the Rev. R. A. Edgell (Eastbourne) son of Sir Henry Lawrence's military secretary. To these must be added on the authority of Mr. Waterfield of Worthing, a Miss Casey and a Mrs. Peters, of whom both are apparently residing in India. Mr. Anderson who was a boy of two and a half at the time of the siege, was the son of Gen. R. P. Anderson (who died in 1876) and grandson of a Waterloo officer. His father was the heroic defender of Anderson's Post which still goes by his name and was one of the most exposed positions in the Residency. Mr. Anderson served in Lower Bengal in the I.C.S. from 1876 to 1902 and had therefore drawn his pension for thirtyfour years. He twice read obituary notices of himself in Indian newspapers.

A TABLET in St. John's Church Calcutta commemorates the fate of Henrietta, aged 30 years, the wife of Capt. R. P. Anderson of the 25th Bengal Infantry and Hilda Mary daughter of Capt. "Anderson's Post." Anderson who "died from sheer want of proper nutriment during the siege of Lucknow." Captain Anderson's small two-storyed house, situated on rising ground, formed the south-eastern angle of the Residency enclosure and the south front extended from it to Gubbins' house. By the side of this little outpost ran the Cawnpore road, and the besiegers being only a few yards away on the left and in front, an incessant fire was kept up night

and day. "It was perhaps the most exposed post in the whole garrison and the only one called by the name of its own commander during the siege." The garrison consisted of Capt. Anderson, a subaltern officer, nine privates and a sergeant of H. M.'s 32nd Foot and eight volunteers—who included a Frenchman Duprat, an Italian Barsotelli and Mr. Capper, of the Civil Service, "who did regular duty as a common soldier and a precious good attentive one he was." Mr. Capper retired in 1882 and died at Eastbourne in 1902. They were kept continually at work and could afford no help to their stricken families. "Five babes were buried last night" runs one entry in a record of the siege: and no less than 53 European or East Indian children died before the first relief. Mrs. Anderson's death is noted by Lady Inglis as having taken place on August 17, ten days after a determined assault on the defences had been repulsed.

THE retiring Viceroy and Lady Willingdon have marked their departure from India by the issue of a descriptive list of the pictures at the Viceroy's residences at New Delhi, Simla and Calcutta. The Viceroy's Collection of Pictures. The list is based on a draft list prepared in 1928 by Sir Evan Cotton at the request of Lord Irwin and it has been brought up to date by Mr. Bertram, the Superintendent of the Viceregal estates. A very limited number of copies have been printed at the Government of India Press. Among recent additions are the "Ghats at Benares" by William Daniell which was formerly the property of Lord Curzon and "General Stibbert and his Staff" by Zoffany. Both these were presented by Her Majesty Queen Mary whose interest in the Viceroy's collection of pictures is evidenced by other gifts of an artistic nature.

WE learn from the Bengal Public Consultations (September 14, 1787) that Thomas Daniell and his nephew William were engaged to "clean, repair and hang up in the council-room the paintings which were removed from the Old Court House by direction of Mr. Macpherson prior to Lord Cornwallis's arrival." A bill of 1500 sicca rupees for these services was laid before the Council at Fort William on September 14, 1787 and, the charges having been pronounced reasonable, the amount was ordered to be paid. The pictures which are still in the Viceroy's collection, were: (1) and (2) the portraits of Louis XV of France and his Queen Marie Leczinska which came from Chandernagore and which the Dutch Admiral Stavorinus saw in 1770 at the Old Court House: (3) and (4) the portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte by Allan Ramsay: and (5) the portrait of Walajah, Nawab of the Carnatic, by George Willison, which was presented in 1777. In a Persian letter of April 15, 1777 to the Nawab (Pers. Corr. Vol. v. No. 515) Warren Hastings writes: "Is much obliged to receive his portrait . . . Is unable to hang it in

the Council-Chamber for want of a proper place for it. Has thought it best to put it in the Court House along with the portrait of the King and Queen of England. As that is the room where all public assemblies are held as well as the Courts of Justice, the portrait by being there will become the object of attention."

FIVE letters written by Lord Clive to the historian Robert Orme have been acquired by the British Museum. Four of these were purchased with the aid of a grant from the Friends of the National Letters of Lord Clive. Libraries, and are holographs. The fifth which was presented to the Trustees by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Gerald Ellison is a signed copy of a letter of which the original is at the India Office. In the first letter Clive gives Orme an account of the French attacks on Fort Saint David in 1747, and in a covering letter dated July 9, 1762, explains that he escaped from Madras after its surrender (September 11, 1746) "disguised as a Dubash and black'd." Some curious details follow regarding a correspondence carried on between the wife of Dupleix and the dubash of Morse, Governor of Fort Saint George. It appeared from papers which were seized that "all our Counsels were betrayed" to the French. In the next a description is given of the siege of Pondicherry in 1748. The last letter was written to Orme from Calcutta on February 5, 1766. He alludes to the importation of the "Four Gentlemen from Madras" and observes that with their assistance he will be able to "introduce regularity, economy, moderation and integrity into every department." The series of events which led to the appointment of four members of the Civil Service in Madras as Councillors at Fort William was described in a paper read before the Indian Historical Records Commission which was held at Poona in January 1925.

AMONGST the legal proceedings in the Vice-Chancellor's Court in London reported in *Allen's Indian Mail* of Feb. 22, 1848, there is a somewhat peculiar case arising out of the will of Robert Mitford, B.C.S.

The Mount, Dacca.

The report is as follows :

Feb. 17.—*Mitford v. Reynolds*.—The question in this case arose on two clauses in the will of a gentleman named Mitford, who had been in the East-India Company's service, and had amassed considerable property. In this will, Mr. Mitford ordered that a place called the "Mount" should be bought for his mausoleum, and that, after paying sundry legacies specified, the residue of his property should go to the benefit of the town of Dacca, in Bengal. The testator died in 1836, and the widow instituted this suit for the purpose of having the last bequest declared null, and the one as to the mausoleum illegal. The Vice-Chancellor and the Chancellor decided on the validity of the

will as regarded the charitable bequest to Dacca. It was referred to the Master to know how much the mausoleum would cost, and that gentleman reported it at £1, 269 ; but the owner of the "Mount" would not sell it. The case was now brought before the Court for further directions, and it was argued on behalf of the institutor, that as the purchase of the mausoleum could not be effected, it was impossible to carry out the intention of the testator, who willed that the residue, after the purchase of the "Mount", should be applied in charitable purposes at Dacca. It was, *contrà*, contended that the bequest of the purchase of the "Mount" failed to the benefit of the town of Dacca. Judgement reserved.

ROBERT MITFORD, (1783-1836) was educated at Tonbridge School and entered the Bengal C.S. in 1799. He retired on May 1, 1831, after several years' service at Dacca, and died at the Hotel Mirabeau, Paris, on April 21, 1836. His wife was a sister of James Pattle, B.C.S. His will was dated July 21, 1835, and his executors were directed "to purchase 'the Mount' now owned by Mr. Evans on the summit of which they will be pleased to cause the erection (construction) of a suitable and handsome as well as durable Monument planting the summit and sides with Cedar or Cypress Trees in a manner that may render it ornamental to the Town." He further directed that the remains of his parents and sister, then lying in a vault in the churchyard of Chipping Ongar, were to be removed and interred on the Mount. The Mitford Hospital at Dacca is still doing good work.

COLONEL Lestock Hamilton Reid, C. S. I., Judge Advocate-General in India from 1909 to 1913, who died at Moffat last March at the age of 78, came of a family whose unbroken associations with India dated back over a century and a half. His great-grandfather was Surgeon John Reid, Bengal Medical Est., who married Ann, daughter of Solomon Boileau, at Chittagong on May 19, 1791. Their son, Lestock Robert Reid, served in the Bombay C.S. from 1817 to 1850 and died in 1878, leaving a son, Maj.—General James Henry Reid (1829-1890), of the Bombay Artillery, who was father of Col. L. H. Reid. The name Lestock derives from Lestock Wilson (1752-1821), of H.E.I.C. Maritime Service, who was appointed 4th Mate of the *Calcutta* Indiaman in Jan. 1771. He was a great friend of Joseph Farington and is frequently mentioned in the Diary. He married at Madras on Aug. 8, 1780, Bonne Boileau, daughter of Simeon Boileau and aunt of Surgeon John Reid's wife. Three of the latter's sisters married Bengal Civilians. Henrietta, the eldest, was wife of Samuel Davis (1760-1819), the Director ; Alicia married Charles Elliott (1776-1856) ; and Maria, the youngest, married Samuel Thomas Goad (1779-1823) ; whilst a fourth became the mother of George Fleming Franco (1798-1870), also of the B.C.S.

Lestock Wilson was a son of John Cockburn who married Elizabeth Wilson and died in Jamaica in 1781. He took his mother's name of Wilson in place of Cockburn, but his grandson John Peter Wilson (1832-1890) reverted to the surname of Cockburn in 1871.

THE death of Colonel R. C. D'E. Spottiswoode in Ireland on March 21st at, the age of 94 not only severs another link with eighteenth century India, but also removes one of the very few surviving combatant officers who served in the Indian Mutiny campaign. He was not yet half way through his seventeenth year when he saw his first fighting. This was an engagement with the mutineers at Sasseram near Benares in May 1859. He was at the time proceeding to Allahabad with a party of recruits to join 3rd Bengal European Cavalry, to which regiment he had been posted as a Cornet. He retired from the Army with an Indian pension in Sept. 1890. His father, Maj.—Gen. Arthur Cole Spottiswoode (1808-1874), 37th Bengal N.I., was a son of Hugh Spottiswoode (1782-1820), of the Madras C.S., a cadet of the family of Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode. His aunt, Elizabeth Helen Spottiswoode, was the wife of Sir Richard Jenkins, G.C.B., Chairman of the E.I.Co. and formerly of the Bombay C.S. (D.N.B.), a first cousin of George Ravenscroft (1777-1823), of the Bengal C.S., who was murdered at Bhinga, Oudh, on May 7, 1823. His maternal grandfather was Lt.—Gen. Lambert Loveday (1762-1843), Colonel of the 32nd Bengal N.I., who volunteered as a Midshipman for the siege of Pondicherry in Oct. 1778, but was just too late to join the operations. The latter's son, Lieut. William Loveday (1809-1840), 37th B.N.I., took part as a young political officer in the defence of Kalat in July 1840. Four months later he was treacherously murdered whilst a prisoner of war by Nasir Khan of Kalat.

BY the death of Col. Spottiswoode the list of surviving combatant officers entitled to wear the Mutiny medal would appear to be reduced to two, viz., Colonel George Chrystie and Captain Edward Kitson. The former, who was born on Sept. 7, 1841, is on the u.s.l., late Madras Est. He served in the Saugor and Narbada Territories from June 20, 1858; with the Field Detachment under Bdr. Wheeler and Col. Reece in the Saugor district, Nov.—Dec. 1858; and in Bundelkhand, Jan.—Feb. 1859. Captain Kitson, of the late 64th Bengal N.I., served with the 53rd Foot in 1858 and holds the Medal with Lucknow clasp. His maternal grandfather was the Rev. William Eales (1773-1854), Senior Chaplain at St. John's Church, Calcutta, from Jan. 1824 to Jan. 1832. The inscription on the memorial in North Park St. cemetery to his wife, Catherine Eales, and her father, Thomas Raban, the Calcutta attorney, is given on page 193 of the *Bengal Obituary*.

Combatant Veterans
of the Mutiny.

IN a recent note on Maj.—General Charles Ware (Vol. L, p. 133) it was stated that he took part in the capture of Manila as an Ensign in H.M. 84th. This statement, as we learn from a Memorial submitted by him to the Court of Directors (Bengal Mily. Cons. Apr. 30, 1777), is incorrect. He was commissioned as 2nd Lieut. in the newly-raised 85th, Crawford's Volunteers, on Aug. 6, 1759, and served with this regiment, latterly as 1st Lieut., till its disbandment in May 1763, remaining thereafter on its h.p. till his death. He saw active service at the capture of Belleisle in 1761, and also in Portugal. With his Memorial he forwarded the following certificate: "I hereby certify that Lieut. Charles Ware, of the Royal Volunteers lately under my command, has constantly attended his duty in the same, from the raising of the said Regiment till the reduction in May 1763. That at Belleisle and in Portugal he gave proofs of his being a brave and diligent Officer, and as such I beg leave to recommend him. (Sd.) John Crawford, late Col. of R. Vols. and Govr. of Belleisle. London, Apr. 21, 1764."

Maj.—Gen. Charles
Ware.

LITTLE is known about Captain John Buchanan, the first husband of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings. We are told by the late S. Charles Hill, in his *List of Europeans and others in the English Factories in Bengal at the time of the siege of Calcutta in the year 1756* (Calcutta, 1902, p. 14 & *passim*), that he was promoted Captain on the Company's Bengal Military Establishment with effect from 3 June, 1754, and died in the Black Hole of Calcutta, 20/21 July 1756. To these facts "Sydney C. Grier" adds that he was transferred from the King's to the Company's service in 1752 or early in 1753; and she further tells us (without quoting any reference) that he was "of Craigievern". We are enabled to follow him a little further in a book which contains some account of the family of Buchanan of Craigievern or Craigievairn, for extracts from which we are indebted to Major V.C.P. Hodson. This is *Strathendrick and its Inhabitants from early Times*, by John Guthrie Smith (Glasgow, 1896, pp. 317-9). From this we learn that John Buchanan, 4th of Craigievern, was eldest son of William Buchanan, 3rd of Craigievern, by his wife Elizabeth Hamilton (whom he married on 30 April 1711 and who was daughter of the late John Hamilton of Bardowie). In 1737 John Buchanan conveyed his lands to trustees in security for the burdens thereon and for an advance of £400 towards purchasing a Quartermaster's Warrant in the Royal Regiment of North British Dragoons. In 1741, with the consent of the trustees, he sold the lands.

Captain John
Buchanan.

Acting on this information, Major Bullock has attempted to follow Buchanan's career in the 2nd Dragoons (better known today as The Royal Scots Greys) and up till his arrival in Bengal in 1752 or early 1753. The Librarian of the War Office kindly provided the information that in the Commission Registers at the Public Record Office, London, John Buchanan is shown as Quartermaster 2nd Dragoons, dated 22 February 1737/8. But after this date his career in the King's service remains a mystery. He is not shown

in the manuscript Army List "H" of 1743/1752, so he appears to have dropped out of the 2nd Dragoons between 1738 and 1743. Quite possibly he may have received an ordinary commission (viz. not as a quartermaster) in another corps between these dates ; but he cannot be traced, under any regiment, in the MS. Army List at the Public Record Office of 1752, corrected to 1757, nor is he named in the Notification Books of commissions 1746-52. A further search for any commission of his amongst the commissions in the State Papers has also proved fruitless. The elaborate but in many respects disappointing *History of the Second Dragoons*, by Edward Almack, F.S.A. (London, privately printed, 1908) omits all mention of him both from the text and from the list of officers who have served in the Regiment ; but from it we learn that in 1737-8, when Buchanan became its Quartermaster, it was in England, chiefly busy on the Kent coast suppressing smuggling, and moved in April 1738, just after he was commissioned, to Wiltshire and Dorset.

It would be interesting to know whence "Sydney C. Grier" derived her information, which she printed in *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* (London, 1905, pp. 456-7), that Captain John Buchanan was "of Craigievern". If this could be ascertained the investigation might be taken a stage further. Meanwhile the even greater mystery—when and where did Hastings marry Mrs. John Buchanan?—also remains unsolved.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society which completed the 28th year of its existence, was held on Friday, the 8th May 1936, at 6 p.m. in the office of the Society at 3, Govt. Place West, Calcutta. Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., presided.

Before the proceedings of the session commenced a resolution expressing heart-felt sorrow at the demise of His Imperial Majesty, King George V, was passed, all standing, in solemn silence.

Mr. A.F.M. Abdul Ali, the Honorary Secretary, read the annual Report and in the absence of Mr. D. C. Ghose, the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. P. Trivedi read the audited Financial Statement.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1935.

The Calcutta Historical Society has been in existence for 29 years now and it is not without a sense of legitimate pride that we mention the fact that the last issue of our journal *Bengal : Past & Present* during the year under review was its 100th number.

We have to announce with great regret that that eminent scholar Sir Evan Cotton who has been the back-bone of this Society and its Journal for all these years has not yet fully recovered from the partial paralysis which struck him in December, 1934.

Even in this enfeebled state of health he has never ceased to help the Journal with his valuable contributions. The Committee will ever remain grateful to him for his continued support to the Society and its Journal.

The Committee are also thankful to Major H. Bullock, F. R. Hist. S., who has kindly taken up the work of contributing Editorial Notes to the pages of our Journal.

We deeply regret to announce the death of two of our most valued members, viz. the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J., and Raja Rishi Case Law, C.I.E.

The Rev. Father Henri Hosten, S. J., died suddenly at Brussels on the 16th of April 1935 at the age of sixty-three. He was one of the most enthusiastic members of the Society and used to contribute frequently to our Journal. His death is a great loss to the Society.

Raja Rishi Case Law, C.I.E., the second son of Maharaja Durgacharan Law died at his Calcutta residence in May 1935. He was not only a very

successful businessman but was also in close touch with most of the important public bodies in Calcutta. He was an ardent supporter of the Society, and used to take a keen interest in its activities. We sincerely mourn his loss.

During the year under review the total number of members of the Society was 124 against 142 of the previous year. Two new members were enlisted during the year under review. The decrease was due to the death of two members, to the resignation of others and to the fact that some names had to be struck off for non-payment of subscription.

FINANCE.

It will be seen from the Balance Sheet drawn up and submitted by Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, that the credit balance at the Mercantile Bank of India Ltd. up to the 31st of December 1935, is Rs. 2254-14-9, out of which Rs. 85-13-2 is in the Current Account, Rs. 1200/- in Fixed Deposit and Rs. 969-1-7 in the Index Fund. The Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1200/- has been renewed for a further period of twelve months.

It may be stated here that the subscriptions of Ordinary members amounting to Rs. 760/- are in arrears but the Committee hopes to be able to realise this amount.

Prominent among the gentlemen whose valuable and scholarly contributions have enabled us to maintain the high standard of our Journal may be mentioned the names of Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., Sir William Foster C.I.E., Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.I.E., Major V. C. P. Hodson, Major H. Bullock, F. R. Hist. S., Mr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Chevalier Hari Har Sett, Syed A. S. M. Taifoor, Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Rai Bahadur Rama Prosad Chanda, and Mr. B. N. Banerjee. The Committee express their heartfelt thanks to them and hope that they as well as other members will continue to take the same interest in the Society and its Journal in the future.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

GENERAL FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1935.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Balance on 1st January, 1935.		Printing including Blocks and Reprints	1,784 9 3
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		Postage and Stationery .	209 3 9
On Current Account .	169 6 2	Bank Charges	12 2 0
„ Fixed Deposit . .	1,200 0 0	Balance on 31st December 1935.	
	1,369 6 2	With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.	
Subscriptions realised		On Current Account .	85 13 2
Arrears	420 0 0	„ Fixed Deposit . .	1,200 0 0
Current	951 12 0		1,285 13 2
Advance for 1936	20 0 0		
	1,391 12 0		
Sale of Society's Journal	302 10 0		
Interest on Fixed Deposits	25 0 0		
Loan from Index Fund	203 0 0		
	Rs. 3,291 12 2		Rs. 3,291 12 2

CALCUTTA, }
17th March, 1936.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.
REGISTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INDEX FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1935.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Balance on 1st January, 1935.		Bank Charges	0 1 0
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		Loan to General Fund .	203 0 0
On Current Account .	1 166 14 7	Balance on 31st December 1935.	
Interest	5 4 0	With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.	
		On Current Account .	969 1 7
	Rs. 1,172 2 7		Rs. 1,172 2 7

CALCUTTA, }
17th March, 1936.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.
REGISTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed the adoption of the Annual Report, and Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah seconded, the motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali proposed the adoption of the Financial Statement, and Mr. Harry Hobbs seconded ; the motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. Harry Hobbs in proposing a vote of thanks to the office bearers of the past year paid a high compliment to the honorary workers of the Society for the time and energy readily devoted by them to the furtherance of the object of the Society and its Journal *Bengal : Past & Present*.

Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mohasai of the Bansberia Raj seconded ; the motion was carried.

All the Office bearers of the previous year were re-elected for the year 1936.

On the proposal of Mr. A. F. Abdul Ali, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was unanimously elected as a Honorary Member of the Society.

Before the meeting came to a close Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mohasai of the Bansberia Raj, with the permission of the Chairman, spoke in feeling terms of the loss sustained by the Empire in the demise of our late beloved Imperial Majesty King George V of blessed memory.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting terminated at 8-15 p.m.
